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# USSR Report

KOMMUNIST

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## USSR REPORT

## KOMMUNIST

No 16, November 1986

[Translation of KOMMUNIST, the Russian-language theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).]

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THE TIMES DEMAND A NEW WAY OF THINKING

M.S. GORBACHEV MEETS WITH WORLD CULTURAL ACTIVISTS AT THE ISSYK-KUL FORUM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 86 (signed to press 28 Oct 86) pp 3-14

[Text] On 20 October 1986 M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, met with a group of world cultural personalities, who had come to the Soviet Union on the invitation of writer Chingiz Aytmatov. The guests spent several days touring Kirghizia, where views were exchanged on the most relevant problems of our time. This encounter was called the "Issyk-Kul Forum." It was attended by Turkish writer Yashar Kemal, Narayan Menon, president of the Indian Academy of Music and Drama, Cuban writer Lisandro Otero, Alexander King, president of the Club of Rome, the American playwright Arthur Miller and his wife painter Inga Miller, Turkish composer Omer Livanelli, American writer James Baldwin, French writer and Nobel Prize winner Claude Simon, Spanish public figure and literary worker Federico Mayor, Augusto Forti, member of the UNESCO secretariat, American futurologist Alvin Toffler and his wife philosopher Heidi Toffler, the British writer, actor and director Peter Ustinov, Ethiopian painter Afevork Tekle and American actor David Baldwin.

Following are notes of the discussion between M.S. Gorbachev and the participants of the Issyk-Kul Forum.

M.S. Gorbachev. I have the feeling that both you and I wanted to meet. That is why I welcome you warmly. I am personally acquainted only with Chingiz Aytmatov. I have probably read everything he has written. I am familiar with the others from their works.

I know that you are visiting the Soviet Union as guests of our writer Chingiz Aytmatov. I read in the paper yesterday the brief interviews you gave. However, you may wish today to discuss this in greater detail.

I will let you begin. I too have something to say. In my view, all of us have something to say to the others. And if the next step on both sides is action--and in this case we are representing many countries and different continents--this would be good.

On behalf of the Issyk-Kul Forum, Chingiz Aytmatov thanked M.S. Gorbachev for the fact that despite his tremendous amount of work he had found time to meet

with the guests. The Issyk-Kul meeting, he noted, was not spontaneous and accidental, although it was a private event.

M.S. Gorbachev: This too is good.

Ch. Aytmatov: All the people who are present here have long worked in the fields of literature, the arts and the humanities and have frequently met one another at fora and congresses as well as privately. We corresponded, spoke on the phone and decided to meet in our country, in Issyk-Kul. I shall not even try to list the topics we covered. All of us here spoke with no restrictions or regulations. For example, Alvin Toffler, the known futurologist, spoke for one-and-a-half hours and we heard him out quite attentively. Many of the topics were familiar and have been considered by contemporary public opinion. We also expressed our own specific viewpoints. This does not mean that we wanted to pit them against universal truths. We dug deep, we refined features and sought ways to influence public opinion. As a result, the participants in our meeting concluded that we may, unofficially, have something permanently operating, which we unanimously named the Issyk-Kul Forum. One of the forms of our future communications will be systematic correspondence. It may include discussions and activities conducted individually and social problems. It may be published in the press, particularly in the authors' countries of origin.

We covered a number of important problems. Unquestionably, we are in favor of preventing war and desire cooperation, above all in the humanitarian area. Contemporary literature, art and philosophy could exert a useful influence in this respect.

We are also brimming with the desire and ready to support today's political leaders in their efforts to reach agreement, particularly in cases in which the support of the intelligentsia of different countries is necessary. Let me point out that the workers in literature and the arts and scientists present here are people who are well known and whose voice is listened to by their contemporaries.

As you can see, this is an important galaxy of names. These are serious people, as our long discussions confirmed. We tried to record them and, I believe, the result will be a very instructive book which, as a whole, could be characterized as a search for a new type of thinking under contemporary historical conditions.

M.S. Gorbachev: I too am in favor of a new way of thinking. Perhaps that may entitle me to apply to your club as a member? (Laughter) If we speak of scarcity in today's civilization, there is a great deal of it. The greatest one is the scarcity of a new way of thinking.

Ch. Aytmatov: To expand on what you said, let me once again go back to what precisely motivated us to meet. One of the reasons was your 15 January 1986 declaration. Your ideas became one of the stimuli for our gathering. We are brimming with resolve to serve the common cause and to dedicate to this our entire practical experience and everything we can accomplish as men of culture.

At our last talk, Federico Mayor suggested and, subsequently, signed on our instruction the telegram we sent to you. Today's meeting is the result of this telegram. Perhaps Mr Mayor would like to comment on it.

Today, Federico Mayor pointed out, people are frequently despairing, for there is inequality among countries in the world; the shadow of despair and disappointment is hanging over us. As the declaration adopted at our meeting states, new ideas must penetrate all areas, including politics.

This Issyk-Kul Forum turns to everyone, scientist in particular, with the appeal to join in our aspirations and to participate in the common efforts which contributory to improving the present situation and acting as factors which contribute to the prevention of an undesirable global development and a threatening catastrophe.

New problems cannot be solved with obsolete methods. The old is a rather heavy burden. How to adapt to the new realities? Let me repeat that the past is like a car rearview mirror. We look at it only to determine how to move forward. We quite frequently ignore the facts of real life, preferring to remain within our "ivory towers." We must accept the new realities and facts and, at the same time, be able to anticipate the future.

We are very pleased that this forum was held in our country. We recall with great emotion the places in Kirghizia which we visited and where we saw a great deal and learned a great deal. To be among people is the only way of finding their true hopes, and becoming familiar with their material and spiritual values. The main wealth is within man himself. Everyone has his creative potential which must be freely developed and expressed.

Our objectives and main thoughts are summed up in the Issyk-Kul Forum declaration. At that meeting we also drafted several initiatives. In particular, we would like to broaden our group, disseminate our publication and establish contacts with international, public and nongovernmental organizations. Any suggestion on this level will be readily considered.

As you said at the beginning, action and not words is needed. Today this is our main task.

On behalf of my colleagues, at the end of our meeting I was given the honor of sending you a telegram and requesting a meeting with you, to present our views. We were confident that you, Mr General Secretary, would respond favorably to our request. Your answer was quick and favorable. Your supportive attitude regarding the forum will encourage our activities and give it the necessary impetus.

The Issyk-Kul Forum also sent a letter to President Reagan. All of us will try to spread as widely as possible the Issyk-Kul declaration in our countries, so that its thoughts may reach high governmental institutions. On the threshold of this new era of peace we realize that a great deal depends on the actions of those who bear on their shoulders the burden of the greatest responsibility. However, the duty of every one of us as well is to be on the level such efforts and concerns.

We hope that life will continue under the conditions of peace, freedom and justice, and that wars and other means of destruction will vanish. We shall do everything possible to eliminate the existing threat. This Issyk-Kul Forum emphasized, in particular, the urgent need for a radical change in the educational system, in order to narrow the gap between the level of knowledge and real life. We must master the situation and, perhaps, even anticipate its possible developments.

Allow me to thank you with all my heart. We wish you, the Soviet Union and all Soviet people every success possible.

Here we feel at home and are very proud of what we were able to accomplish. These last days were filled with important events and discussions.

M.S. Gorbachev: This was a very interesting communication.

Heidi Toffler said that she was particularly impressed by the equestrian festivities in Kirghizia. She was particularly impressed by competitions in which a man tries to catch a girl. If he fails, on his way back the girl hits him with a lash. This is a rather strange but instructive custom. Perhaps it should be made more popular, she ended in the midst of a general laughter.

M.S. Gorbachev: Let us try to apply this metaphor to politics: if we prove unable to pursue the ideas of peace, progress and justice, we deserve being lashed.

I mentioned this event only as an analogy, H. Toffler went on to say. The television programs which my husband and I produce end roughly as follows: "All of us are at the starting point of great competitions for the future. Some of us have advantages and others have some shortcomings. What matters is that there be neither winners nor losers in such competitions for the right to a future. All of us must cross the finish line together."

We believe that it is our duty and responsibility to make the future of all mankind more humane and more democratic than achieved by any previous civilization.

Alexander King said that his first visit to the Soviet Union was in 1933 and that he has repeatedly visited the country since. Never before, however, had he seen such sincerity and openness as during the present trip.

I would like to say, A. King noted, that many people throughout the world are thinking of the future. It is very important for nongovernmental organizations to be able to display an understanding of the problems which face the governments. In my experience, many senior political leaders (I have extensive experience in meeting people on the presidential and prime minister levels) truly understand the present difficulties and are ready to make changes. However, they find it difficult to do so because of the power of bureaucracies which they head and which work under them.

The creative capability which was discussed in the Issyk-Kul Forum declaration is the base of a new approach which we now support. We are convinced that a

new type of thinking has developed in the world, the shoots of which are manifested here and there. Today the concept of the future is different from what it was in the past.

Such thinking covers a number of aspects, from the physical sciences to biology, but so far has not penetrated social thinking. Yet it could contribute a great deal to it. The task of our group is for such assimilation of ideas to take place with your help, with the help of your colleagues who head the government. We highly value your openness and the fact that you have invited us here.

Arthur Miller expressed his warm thanks for the hospitality and said: I am a playwright. I work alone and if I personally express any ideas, they are manifested through my art. However, it is very important that we were able to speak directly with one another. Some ideas must be transmitted from one person to another.

A. Miller believes that it is necessary to eliminate the view according to which the main function of a government is to be the center of all power. I believe, he said, that your new approaches and the openness which you are now demonstrating in your country are very promising.

You know that the job of the poet is to tell the truth. He must speak from the depth of his heart. This demands the tolerance of the authorities. Not only the poet but anyone who has worthy ideas must have the possibility of publishing something new. I am not speaking of any specific country. Orthodox people exist throughout the world and they protect each other. If we want to develop, we must have the courage to reject that which is no longer the truth and acknowledge that which is. This is because reality plays no favorites.

M.S. Gorbachev: The topic of reality is my favorite topic...

Alvin Toffler dedicated most of his speech to problems of information. So far, he pointed out, many among us, painters and writers demanded the freedom of information on the basis of political and philosophical considerations. Today we have another strong argument: no economic reform in any one of our countries is possible without a change in policy concerning information. The need for the free sharing of information is a direct economic need, for the new economy is largely based precisely on the utilization of data-processing technology.

M.S. Gorbachev: I believe that man is the main factor. When I see technological breakthroughs accompanied by tremendous human losses, not only spiritual but also of the type in which man as such is excluded from the political and social process, and I am not referring to the economy, I believe that such a system should be profoundly questioned, to say the least.

Now, in my view, it is very important to combine scientific and technical progress with the interests of human society in such a way that not only the human factor, the individual will not be absorbed by it and his dignity will not be insulted and suppressed but, conversely, in a way that man can feel

more as the true creator, the real active fighter, for he is the source of this progress and is the greatest creation of nature.

When I was in England in 1984 I visited a big automobile manufacturing concern. I was there after it had thoroughly reorganized its production process, and had adopted a new technology and undertaken the production of new car models. I appreciated highly the technology and the automobiles but I asked for a frank answer to what had happened to the people who had worked there before the modernization? It turned out that nearly half of them had lost their jobs. This is a problem which should be considered thoroughly, so that as a result of technological explosions and breakthroughs the individual is not depreciated. No one better than you can raise this topic. If you hold a different view you are denying your own selves.

Alvin Toffler said that he and his wife spent 5 years performing manual work on a conveyer belt in an automobile- and motorcycle-manufacturing plant. No one has to convince me that the problem of individuality and technical new developments is basic, he emphasized. For the time being, no satisfactory solution to this problem has been found. I believe, however, that new technology also includes a promise. It eliminates the hard work which my wife and I had to do, a work which is more suitable for animals than people.

Narayan Menon spoke of the fact that all participants in the Issyk-Kul meeting were unanimous on the subject of the need for peace throughout the world and for a better life for mankind and on the need realistically to see the world and its problems. He discussed the problems of developing and underdeveloped countries. This includes more than one-half of the population on earth, Menon emphasized. Many people live in poverty and hunger. This problem as well must be considered and treated honestly and openly.

In the past 300 years colonialism divided the world into those who worked and produced and those who took away their products and sold them at a profit. We must speak of this reality, we must not forget it.

M.S. Gorbachev: I am quite excited by the problem of the developing countries. I believe that to a certain extent I have been able to impart this. If we avoid the solution of this problem we should expect surprises on a global scale. I would agree that this is a "delayed time bomb."

Peter Ustinov expressed his high appreciation of the Issyk-Kul meeting. It is very important to hear closely and with sympathy other people's views. Now, he said, one more very honorable person has joined our forum, someone who is also sitting and listening to the discussion. I know how important it is when one speaks and is listened to.

At the beginning of our meeting I said that each one of us has two citizenships: the one is that which is indicated in the passport; the other is our profession and our respect for human life. Peter Ustinov dedicated part of his speech to the problem of the developing countries. He had worked with UNICEF and believes that the Soviet Union today could make a more substantial contribution to the work of this organization. In a number of respects this is an outstanding organization, particularly under present

circumstances, Peter Ustinov said. The principles of personal hygiene are well known. If you hurt your finger and do not treat the wound your wrist will hurt. If you do not treat it, the contamination will spread throughout the hand and the shoulder and if this too is ignored, you could die. It is obvious today that all of us must realize that mankind requires the same treatment as our individual bodies. If you are high up in life living in the palm of fate, do not think that those who live below you at the level of your toes are all that far removed from you.

Yashar Kemal warmly thanked Mikhail Sergeyevich for the meeting and for everything he told the participants. Global problems, he went on to emphasize, are quite difficult, particularly that of the nuclear threat hanging over mankind. The world is faced with the threat of nuclear war. How can we prevent it? All people, all artists, men of culture and literature, must unite. Such a unification against the threat of war can exist only if it is organized. The second danger which faces mankind is the destruction of nature. We see nature being destroyed steadily, with every passing day. The animal world is perishing and the environment is being destroyed. This is a danger no less terrible than the threat of war.

The danger of the destruction of nature is very great. Sometimes we cannot even imagine its extent. It is sometimes said that nature is being killed by modern technology. I, Kemal said, cannot accuse modern technology. If we realize that we must save the world, this can be accomplished by modern technology alone. However, as it saves our lives and our world, this technology is also destroying them.

In his view, there is another problem of importance to mankind. The educational system has existed for nearly 2,000 years and with its help people have reached the point of killing one another and creating the most advanced means of destruction. Everything in the world is changing except for the educational system. Such problems must be solved both by governments and independently of governments.

Lisandro Otero noted that the most interesting feature during the Issyk-Kul meeting was the variety of opinions expressed in the areas of politics, ethics and religion. We here, he said, are people with very different views which, naturally, is reflected in our positions. Despite all differences, however, we were of one opinion and shared the same view and objective. This is what matters most.

M.S. Gorbachev: This is a very accurate idea. It is true that different people sat behind the round table. All of you, however, found this interesting. You were enriched as a result of this meeting and, I believe, you may have broadened your understanding and vision and gained a "second wind." Let me make immediate use of this. Take the entire world--we are different people. Is this a shortcoming? It is reality. Therefore, we must learn to live within this variety, we must respect the choice made by a nation. As the saying goes, the sun cannot be covered and the people cannot be wrong. This too is a serious thought worthy of consideration.

Should we shoot at one another because we are different? We should use this difference and get something new out of it, enriching one another.

We have reached a great agreement, Lisandro Otero responded, and we have a common objective. We have agreed to act jointly. We have decided to abandon anything which is dividing us now. The world has many difficult and complex problems and is corroded by a variety of antagonisms. Let us take the tremendous stockpiles of nuclear weapons. That is why the participants in this meeting want very much to make their contribution to the solution of problems and have reached agreement on basic points. This creates the hope that we shall be able to save our planet. We can and must influence the people so that peace and harmony can exist forever.

Omer Livanelly emphasized that one of the major problems is the relationship between the creative intelligentsia and the leaders. We know from books, he said, that in olden times some rulers needed poets. In our age, however, we see that ties and contacts between governments and the artistic intelligentsia are sometimes broken. A Nazi leader once said that as soon as he hears the word "culture" he reaches for his gun. Today as well, Livanelly went on to say, writers and poets would like to deal with serious problems. They want to reflect in their works our concepts of the future, our dreams. We are in a country which is the homeland of great men of culture. This is our great good fortune and offers us the tremendous opportunity to see the cultural values in the land of the soviets, for which we are grateful.

Augusto Forti touched upon a problem which he considers important as a scientist. In our work, he said, we discuss various viewpoints, after which we must come to an agreement. We must find something acceptable to all and it is only thus that science can advance. Unless this has been achieved, there is no progress in science. Such was the case with Newton's law, which remained our law for many centuries and, perhaps, this applies also to the new science which is only arising. The meeting organized by Aytmatov provided a major impetus. We consider it a new dialogue on the main problems. If this applies to us, it should apply to society as well. It is only thus that it could make progress. In turning to M.S. Gorbachev, A. Forti said that the land of the soviets has a tremendous potential for progress. You have outstanding scientists and noted writers, he went on to say. Your country and you personally could contribute to the world ideas of tremendous significance.

M.S. Gorbachev: I thank you for your faith in our possibilities. We too believe in them.

James Baldwin joined in the conversation. He said he would like to add to what Mr Menon had said about the "Third World." There are many people on earth. Some of them are in the "civilized world." It is said of other that they are the "Third World," investing in this concept a somewhat scornful meaning. Our objective, however, is to make part of society those which have been excluded from it. There are many people who live in ghettos or in virtual jail, as though there was no other place for them on earth, and all of this because some of those in power consider them useless and unnecessary to society. This is a global problem which must be approached quite cautiously,

for the habits of obsolete thinking here as well play a major role. Those in power have ideas which are different from those who are at the bottom. However, they too are people. They too must be included in our concerns and our thoughts.

Afevork Tekle said that, being a painter, he always tries to express his feelings with brush and canvas. Here, however, he would like to share thoughts which arose in him in the last days of his stay in the land of the soviets.

I live, he went on to say, on a continent with many problems. This applies to Ethiopia as well. Many other countries also have problems which demand new solutions. When I returned home from Europe I had to forget a great deal of what I had been taught there, for in our country a painter cannot live in an "ivory tower," but must share his talent, his creative possibilities with his people, with those with whom he lives within the same society, in the hope that he will help them to solve their daily problems.

M.S. Gorbachev: Both you and Mr Mayor said that the artist, the true artist cannot live in an ivory tower. We recently celebrated--I use this occasion to thank UNESCO--the 800th anniversary of the "Lay of the Host of Igor." For the past 800 years, the seven-and-a-half pages of this song excite the people and not only in our country. After the ceremonious meeting attended by a large group of writers ended, in my talk with them I said: "Do you know what lesson one can learn from this evening and from the 800th anniversary of this epic? That one should write about what constitutes the fate of the people. That is what we expect of each one of you. Whatever genre you may choose and whatever style you use is your business. I ask of you nothing else." The idea that the artists cannot live in an ivory tower is not only accurate but also quite relevant.

A. Tekle agreed with M.S. Gorbachev. When I return to my homeland, he continued, I will engage in creative activities and, as an African and as an intellectual, I will also deal with the problems of my own country and with global problems, for I always think about the person, about the world.

When I received Aytmatov's invitation to go to Issyk-Kul, I initially thought: What could I do, what contribution could I make to this matter and to solving problems which will be facing us in the next millennium. However, thanks to the atmosphere which was created for us, we were able to express our thoughts in their entirety. At the banks of the Issyk-Kul and in Frunze, for the first time I realized that all that I must do should be imbued with the concept of the universe and not only of a single corner in the planet. I was happy to find out that some of my ideas were shared by many of my colleagues whom I had the opportunity to meet in Issyk-Kul. I saw not only the beauty of the landscape and the mountains but also the beauty of the soul of the thinking people who had assumed the obligation to solve the problems of the 21st century with hope and with a sincere aspiration to find new approaches to them. As a painter I felt isolated. However, the Issyk-Kul meeting gave me new thoughts and I have made the firm decision that back in my country, in Africa, I will be even more useful to society and even more active.

The organization of this forum, Tekle said, was to me yet another proof that leaders such as M.S. Gorbachev have provided the opportunity of materializing good ideas in specific forms which are instructive for the future. I believe that it is very important for leaders to trust creative workers. This always leads to positive solutions.

I am leaving the Soviet Union, a great country where truly creative people live and where painters are greatly honored, with a feeling of happiness and confidence. Africa has many problems and difficulties, particularly in Ethiopia. Back in my homeland, I shall tell my colleagues in Ethiopia and throughout Africa about the Issyk-Kul meeting and the fact that the role of the artist is not only to create works of art but also to instill in the people, through his social activities, hope for a bright future.

M.S. Gorbachev: I see that you have done a great deal of thinking and have discussed many things during these days, and I congratulate you for this. Yes, you have awakened a great deal within me as well.

Since no one else wants to speak, let me express my own attitude toward what happened in Issyk-Kul. I believe that this was merely the beginning of something which will go on. You can rely not only on our sympathy but also on our support.

As I understand it, you are pleased with this meeting. Here Arthur Miller said that he had become accustomed to living alone and to create alone. Naturally, this is for the people. He admits that he questioned whether something would come out of this meeting in Issyk-Kul and whether it was worth it to make such a long trip. I see now that Mr Miller and all of you do not regret coming to this meeting. It seems to me that this is not only your gain but a gain shared by the peoples of the different countries which your represent.

Personally, I am on your side. You are making great efforts. I welcome them. As to our present talk, I would say that, in my understanding, we have gathered here not simply as a result of reciprocal human curiosity, although this is not bad in itself, for not all us are philosophers. We are, above all, people.

I think that the desire to meet was dictated on your side and mine by common concerns and worries and thoughts about the world in which we live and about the future of this world. There are many reasons for thinking both about the present and the future of this world. In my view, the advantage of the Issyk-Kul Forum is that it gathered quite different people, not only in terms of profession but also views on the world. As though in miniature, this forum proved the possibility of reaching an agreement on the scale of all mankind.

Not so long ago I met with a large group of scientists who had gathered here in Moscow to discuss problems which concern today's world. Many of them were noted people, people who were world-famous and Nobel Prize winners. I told them (this was published) that politics needs scientific arguments. Politics can provide necessary answers to problems if it is based on scientific

analysis and is free from swinging from one side to another, from arbitrariness and improvisation.

I can say today with even greater conviction that politics must be nurtured by everything contained within the intellectual wealth of all nations and of human civilization. Our intelligentsia (in this case I am referring to the community of Soviet nations) has always considered man above all as the object of its constant study, concern and thoughts. A policy which is not fructified by thoughts of human destinies is a bad, an immoral policy unworthy of respect.

That is why I share the idea heard in your statements, the idea of the need for a natural tie, I would say a reciprocal need experienced by politicians and representatives of contemporary culture to be in touch, to meet, to maintain a constant exchange of views. I believe that both sides can only be richer as a result.

I believe that you will not start denying that in politics, along with achievements and gains, there have been major losses, blunders and errors, some of them even fatal, in the way that there are tremendous accomplishments but also many losses in art. This is particularly the case when this art or some of its trends and representatives abandon real life and, furthermore, strike and attitude toward the vital problems of human lives.

Let me express a polemic view. I ask you to recall the way things were in the past, even in the recent past. Mankind has always had the intelligence, courage and conscience to seek the reasons for one upheaval or another. Unfortunately, as a rule this occurred after the difficulty. What kind of world could there be today if people would eliminate difficulties at the proper time?

That is why I welcome the Issyk-Kul Forum and consider it as one more intellectual effort to lead the best forces of all peoples and nations, to an understanding of the contemporary world and to speaking out about its future, in order to prevent the catastrophes which could affect all of us.

The advantage of our meeting is the fact that quite different people took part in it. However, they were able to rise above what divides them and reach common agreement on the main problem: on everyone's responsibility for the future of mankind. This should be a lesson to others. It is likely that those present were informed of statements on such problems which were made at our party congress. There too we tried not only to consider our own problems but to look at the entire world, a world which is interrelated and interdependent and, although conflicting, nevertheless integral. We took this idea from Lenin. It will be probably no great news that I read and reread Lenin. This will be no great discovery for you.

What will happen if we are unable to save our human hope from the nuclear threat? Should this happen there would be no possibility of correcting the error. We are truly facing a critical moment in history, when it is obvious that a fatal menace can be eliminated only through joint efforts.

In his time, V.I. Lenin expressed an idea of tremendous depth: the idea of the priority of the interest of social development and of all-human values over the interests of a given class. Today, in the nuclear missile age, the significance of this thought is felt particularly sharply. It would please us very much if the other side of the world would also understand and accept the thesis of the priority of the universal value of peace over any other which one person or another may support.

We must most strongly voice the concerns of our time and jointly seek the right solutions for the sake of a peaceful present and future and awaken the conscience and responsibility of every person for the fate of the world. Despite difficulties and contradictions we must preserve civilization for the sake of life and mankind. If it survives it will somehow resolve its contradictions.

That is why the most important task is to preserve this world which may even be unique in the universe. I do not pit the importance of the struggle against a nuclear threat against ecological concerns and the consequences of the scientific and technical revolution or problems of information.

I share your view that we live in a world which is quite imperfect. In any case no one can say that we live in a perfect world. However, I am confident that it could be made better. I believe that the intellectual potential and, as you said, scientific discoveries and technology could be put in the service of attaining this goal. But first we must safeguard the world from the threat of nuclear annihilation.

What is uniting all of us today, regardless of where we live, our ideology or faith is the shared concern of the people throughout the world related to the nuclear threat. The rest is a matter of choice. But being aware of the reality, the main reality of the nuclear missile age is, I believe, the most important task of all of us today. At the Issyk-Kul Forum these concerns were in the center of attention and were reflected in the declaration you adopted, which expresses the common wish of all of its participants to develop the ideas of the forum and move ahead, rallying increasingly broader circles of the modern intelligentsia, the progressive intelligentsia which takes to heart the problems of today's world. This, in my view, is a major undertaking. Every politician has his own possibilities. The artists have their own possibilities, which are no lesser.

What can the leaders of culture oppose to the forces leading mankind to catastrophe? On the eve of World war I such problems greatly concerned Leo Tolstoy, as they do us today. The 80-year-old patriarch of world literature sensed the approaching war. He said that those who find war profitable have money in the billions and millions of soldiers. The writer has only one weapon but a powerful one: the truth. This is sufficient for us to say that the struggle is not hopeless.

The Issyk-Kul Forum is a tremendous document confirming the results of the new way of thinking. We see new shoots growing on the political field. We see them on the cultural front, which is a most encouraging feature.

Here virtually everyone spoke of the fact that a new way of thinking is needed in order adequately to realize today's realities. It is on this basis that in Reykjavik we formulated suggestions from which the Soviet Union has never retreated. Nevertheless, this type of new thinking was not enough. The way I formulated the question there was as follows: We came not with demands or ultimatums but brought proposals, far reaching proposals, hoping that the U.S. President will respond. A great deal has been already said about Reykjavik. This is not a failure or hopelessness. We have made substantial progress. This meeting indicated that one could reach agreements which would mark the beginning of the elimination of nuclear weapons. The program of new proposals formulated by the USSR does not close but opens the doors to a search for mutually acceptable solutions. It provides the real opportunity to come out of the dead end street. However, this meeting also proved that many difficulties must be surmounted on the way to an agreement.

One of the main lessons of Reykjavik is that a new political thinking, consistent with the realities of the nuclear age, is a mandatory prerequisite for coming out of the critical situation in which mankind finds itself at the end of the 20th century. Profound changes must take place in the political thinking of mankind. Naturally, the propaganda and the interest of different groups and alliances, elections, and so on, greatly hindered the application of the results of Reykjavik in the United States. Nothing can be done about this. However, the elections will pass but the problems will remain and one must think and seek ways of solving them.

I would be very interested to learn what you saw in our country and the way our society appeared to you. We are going through an interesting stage, and interesting period of historical development. We wish to renovate all aspects of our life on a socialist basis. We are not abandoning our values or what we believe in, or what brought Russia to its present level. We simply discovered or, to put it gently, we made insufficient use of that which our system can provide for the development of the economy, the social sphere and culture. Furthermore, we found out that some deformations, totally inconsistent with socialist values, had taken place in our country. The fact that today we have taken the path of reorganization, using openness and democracy, has triggered a tremendous response in our people. We feel the type of support which had not existed, perhaps, for decades.

We shall follow this path. Throughout the world, some are welcoming it and share with us our plans, supporting our intentions and wishes. For some reason, others are afraid of this. We believe that what we are doing is not only consistent with the expectations of the Soviet people but that it also opens opportunities for finding new ways of cooperation with other nations and states. There are those who would like to hinder us. You know, however, that the Russian character is such that if it is obstructed it becomes even stronger! Those who have suggested such a policy are even inspiring us by the fact that some of its aspects have worried them. This too is proof that we are on the right way.

We realize that this requires great efforts. Here and there the processes are painful. But just think: we are 280 million people, more than 100 nations

and nationalities! All of us today must rethink a great deal of things. We must see the prospects which the present policy offers to our society from a new angle, a new point of view. This is no simple matter.

We are relying on the tremendous help of our intelligentsia. The Soviet intelligentsia--this is a very important point--actively joined the reconstruction process. It has not only joined but has become its warm supporter. This opens extensive opportunities for solving not only domestic

but also global problems. Our possibilities will increase and so will our material, political, intellectual and moral contribution.

I was very pleased to meet with you. Some of you I knew from hearsay only.

I wish you sincerely the greatest possible happiness so that perhaps even part of what you agreed upon at the Issyk-Kul Forum may happen.

Voice: To prove even truer....

M.S. Gorbachev: I see that you want a great deal. This pleases me very much. I am tremendously pleased with meeting.

My best to you. I wish you all the best. Bon voyage and good luck.

The participants in the meeting warmly thanked M.S. Gorbachev and saw him off with applause.

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## MAIN SOCIAL FORCE OF OUR TIME

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[Article by A. Dobrynin, CPSU Central Committee secretary; based on a speech delivered at the International Scientific Conference on The Working Class in Our Time (Moscow, 8-10 October 1986)]

[Text] In our country the concept of "contemporaneity" is linked above all with the incredibly complex, dramatic and saturated international situation in which all mankind finds itself, with its concerns and hopes.

On the one hand, we are witnessing events which are reflecting the universal conviction that the time has come to put an end to the threat of nuclear war through specific practical actions. On the other, the reasons for profound concern remain. The solution of the main problem of our time--universal security--remains unsolved. The militaristic forces are dragging us back to a dead end in matters of nuclear and space armaments. As in the past, they are relying on the creation of new and ever more refined weaponry systems, swinging the flywheel of the arms race and preparing to shift it to outer space. This increases the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

However, contemporaneity does not only mean important current events. It also involves profound processes and changes related to the daily lives of hundreds of millions of people.

It would be difficult or simply impossible to understand the historical situation at the end of the 20th century without a profound analysis and interpretation of the new problems related to the status and development of the working class or the reinterpretation of some old and durable concepts concerning it.

The contemporary world is at a crucial stage. New profound social processes are taking place in the socialist and capitalist sociopolitical systems. Qualitatively new problems have also appeared in relations between them. Today the contradictions between a handful of imperialist countries and the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America appear in a different light. Under our own eyes a scientific and technical revolution is taking place, marking the beginning of a gigantic growth of man's twin material and

spiritual possibilities in the qualitative leap in social production forces and, at the same time, in means of destruction.

Naturally, neither the Marxists nor anyone who links the future of social progress with peaceful toil, can fail to consider the role of the working class in this complex, conflicting yet largely integral world of the last decades of the 20th century. What are the qualitative and quantitative changes to which the development of the working class and its status in society are being subjected? What features will the working class have at the beginning of the third millennium, the threshold of which we have essentially reached? What position will the working class adopt in solving the most important tasks of mankind--its self-preservation, the survival of civilization and the solution of other problems, such as environmental protection, the elimination of hunger and poverty, etc.?

This is a very partial enumeration of the most important problems which are being actively discussed today by all parties and organizations related to the working class.

The scientific and technical revolution is introducing essentially new elements in the status of the working class and the conditions of its struggle and prospect of development on the eve of the 21st century. It is the kind of change which directly affects the main production force--the working person. K. Marx predicted this when he wrote about a level of scientific and technical progress in which labor means will consist of automated machine systems while men servicing the automated machines "will control and regulate the production process" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 46, part II, p 213). Indeed, well-known facts prove that man's place in the production process and the nature and content of his labor are changing and that changes are also taking place in the sum total of social relations.

Although in some aspects such changes are universal, their social consequences are different and even conflicting in terms of the different social systems. In the light of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution, the fact noted by Marx that capital "makes man himself, the main productive force, one-sided, limited, etc." becomes even clearer (op. cit., vol 46, part I, p 403). The opposite social consequences of the scientific and technical revolution deserve being the subject of profound theoretical study based on the specific analysis of a specific situation.

Actually, the use of contemporary technology by capitalism is essentially aimed against the individual. In converting millions of people into "unnecessary" people, it is also a means of strengthening the authoritarian and despotic power of capital at the enterprises. With every passing year the lack of spirituality of capitalism, which literally dehumanizes man, including in the area of ideology and the practice of consumerism, becomes increasingly obvious. Capitalism is making use of the latest equipment also in order to plunder the "Third World" in a more "modern" and efficient manner. Like the old, modern capitalism is largely living at the expense of the "fees" it charges nations which have fallen behind in their economic development.

Despite all the changes experienced by the contemporary working class, however, it remains the main character in the forward development of mankind. As M.S. Gorbachev noted, this is the precise class whose labor, mind and skills are needed today in all realms of social life.

The working class is the main social force of Soviet society. In the postwar period and particularly in recent decades, profound changes have taken place in its aspect and social appearance. Its numbers, skill and professional mastery, education and general culture have grown. Increasingly, the ranks of the working class are being reinforced by people doing highly skilled work, no longer merely physical but also largely mental. Inherent in the new contemporary worker are higher living requirements. His aspiration directly to participate in the solution of all problems and production facilities and in social life as a whole are greater than ever before.

The political aspect of the working class is characterized, for example, by the following data: 8.6 million workers (45 percent of the party's membership) are CPSU members and candidate members; millions of workers, party and nonparty members, participate, one way or another, in public management: more than 1 million are soviet deputies; about 5 million are members of the people's control authorities; 4.4 million workers are members of permanent production conferences.

Naturally, the processes which are taking place in the working class in our country under the influence of economic, scientific and technical and social development, and its very size create certain problems, theoretical as well as practical. We are working on their solution although, naturally, we do not have ready answers to all problems.

A number of problems arise, which are directly related to the scientific and technical revolution. Under socialism, however, they are being solved in a way radically different from capitalism, not at the expense of the working people but in their interest. It is a well-known fact, for example, that phenomena such as unemployment do not exist in our country. Naturally, we realize that the use of new equipment will, eventually, face us too with the problem of ways of ensuring total employment. We are keeping this problem in mind, proceeding from the fact that socialism has its own specific ways of solving it. There will never be unemployment in our Soviet society.

Other problems arise as well. What new social categories are now encompassed within the "working class" concept? What is the position within the social structure of the rapidly growing stratum of workers-intellectuals, a specialist which high and secondary technical skills? How is the growth of the working class combined with the objective processes of social homogeneity? Our scientists are debating these and other problems. This is quite natural, although they should not delay finding answers.

In his time Marx predicted that with the development of scientific and technical progress the production process will convert from a simple to a scientific labor process which will put the forces of nature in the service of human needs (see op cit., vol 46, part II, p 208). This forecast proved to be justified in the socialist countries, in Soviet society.

The 27th CPSU Congress firmly charted a course of accelerated socioeconomic development and radical reorganization of all areas of social life in order to achieve a qualitatively new status in Soviet society. A sober and self-critical analysis of the situation in our country was provided at the congress. Today we see it as our task to make more extensive use of the tremendous opportunities and advantages of the socialist system and in fact to combine them with the achievements of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution and to display more fully the superiority of the socialist system. This is a truly revolutionary task.

Today the stipulations of the 27th Congress regarding the revolutionary, the all-embracing nature of the reorganization, have been concretized in the various areas of social life--economics, social relations, the political superstructure, spiritual life and party, state and economic work. The reorganization is not a one-time act but a process which will take place within a specific historical period of time. It is the main lever for harnessing domestic reserves and the possibilities of our socialist system. Here as well the CPSU firmly relies on the Soviet working class. "Whenever difficulties have appeared in the Soviet system, due to the inordinately difficult project of building socialism," V.I. Lenin said, "the Soviet system has known only one way of struggling against them: turning to the workers..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 37, p 425).

The main lesson which the CPSU drew from the experience of our development over the past 20 years is precisely the fact that the decisive prerequisite for success in the implementation of any broad economic program is the activeness and conscientiousness of the masses and their truly socialist initiative and activity. In directing and organizing the processes of reorganization, the party proceeds from the live creativity of the people's masses and their profound interest in the changes under way.

That is precisely why we relate above all the acceleration and reorganization to the further development of socialist democracy. The CPSU has mounted an open struggle against methods of bureaucratic administration and command, which are still inherent in some party and state officials. The working people are unwilling to be satisfied with yesterday's accomplishments and to tolerate shortcomings and negative phenomena. Major changes are taking place in the life of our society. The party is convinced that the tremendous intellectual and creative potential of the people can be used to its fullest extent only by broadening democracy, by democratizing all realms of our life.

Understandably, this is no simple matter. We still come across a lack of understanding of the significance of broadened democracy. Its further development somewhat confuses some leading personnel. Although society as a whole is firmly attuned to change, the reorganization process is taking place with difficulty and unevenly, encountering a variety of sociopsychological and organizational obstacles. Bureaucratic distortions in the work of the management apparatus, lack of discipline and irresponsibility are hindering the reorganization.

This type of inertia, inherited from the past, must be persistently and firmly surmounted. To learn how to work under the conditions of expanded democracy

is what a party calls for. "We," M.S. Gorbachev emphasizes, "must include the people in the process of reorganization through the democratization of society. As to what is the essence of the reorganization, let me reduce it to its simplest form: we must create the type of prerequisites within each labor collective and party organization, oblast, republic, sector, or central department, or throughout the party, in which our people would feel themselves the masters of the country."

In this case a great deal can be learned from the experience of the masses themselves. Worker initiatives have brought to life new forms of the brigade organization of labor. The brigade leader and council are elected and the workers themselves solve problems of labor organization and wages. A new form of self-government has appeared: enterprise councils of labor collectives. Currently we are completing the drafting of a new law on the socialist enterprise, which codifies the line of reorganization methods of economic management and the protection of labor collectives from petty supervision and control by superior authorities.

Socialist people's self-government is not reduced merely to the participation of the working people in the management of the enterprises in which they are employed. It is a question of expanding and intensifying the democratic and self-governing principles in all social life. This enriches the content of democratic centralism and upgrades its efficiency.

The trade unions play an important role in the system of socialist democracy. They are the largest organization with 137 million members. In our country the trade unions have substantial rights. They fulfill the functions of protecting the interests of the working people. In practice, proper attention was not always paid to this function. Yet the trade unions must be able firmly to defend the interest of the collective and of every working person. This is their task.

The activities of the soviet of people's deputies, 44.4 percent of which are workers, are also being reorganized. Their functions are being expanded and their role in the life of society as the authorities of the working people are being enhanced.

The entire social atmosphere which has developed in our country under the influence of the 27th CPSU Congress, the reforms which is being implemented and the struggle for reorganization are aimed at enhancing the human factor, restructuring the mentality of the people and stimulating them to implement their proprietary role and, at the same time, ensuring the greater efficiency of centralized management and the expansion of the autonomy, initiative and responsibility of enterprises, local power authorities, social organizations, etc. It is important to note in this connection that economic and production efficiency is considered not a self-seeking objective but a means of solving the major social problems of building communism.

By its inner nature, the working class, the class which is building socialism, needs openness, discussion, criticism and self-criticism. This is a method for formulating and solving the ripe problems, surmounting shortcomings and correcting deformations, organically inherent in the socialist system. It is

a means of mobilizing the social consciousness and an efficient way of participation of the masses in social management. That is why to us criticism is not a campaign but a permanent factor of development and progress.

Naturally, a great deal depends on the speed with which the CPSU and all of its links, from the primary party organizations to the CPSU Central Committee, will be restructured. Ours is a worker, a people's party; as a ruling party it is at the service of the people and must set an example to the entire society, an example in properly understanding the line of acceleration, an example of principle-mindedness, openness, self-criticism, democracy, initiative, discipline and responsibility.

The desire for the systematic observance of the norms of social justice is inherent in the working person. Steps are being currently taken to correct the distortions which have appeared and to ensure, above all, the strict observance of the principle of payment according to labor, to eliminate elements of equalization and, at the same time, to block channels leading to unearned income. By undertaking to cleanse our society from all manifestations of private ownership and petit bourgeois mentality, we enhance even further the ideal of socialist worker and proletarian morality.

The acceleration of scientific and technical progress is combined with an energetic social policy and with the daily concern for people and for improvements in the social infrastructure. The party has condemned the procedure of allocating funds for social needs based on the "residual" principle, after the implementation of production plans. Concern for upgrading the well-being of the working people not sometime in the future but now, today, is the most important task of our society. At the same time, the solution of social problems is also considered a necessary prerequisite for the increased efficiency of public production.

Positive changes can be noted currently in literally all areas of our life. For the time being, however, no more than the initial steps have been taken in the reorganization process. Life proves that the implementation of decisions is as creative and difficult a task as their formulation. One could say that in the months which have passed since the 27th CPSU Congress, literally every single day has been saturated with the search for new approaches to the solution of problems which have become crucial in our society. "We proceed from the fact," M.S. Gorbachev emphasized, "that we need more dynamism, more social justice and more democracy or, briefly, more socialism."

The CPSU is clearly aware of the international significance of each one of its accomplishments in building socialism. The successful progress made by the land of the soviets on the path of the October Revolution is the main international duty of our party. At the same time, the Soviet people show a great deal of interest in the solution of problems of economic and social building in other socialist countries and the original ways that they are discovering in enhancing the activities of the working class and all working people. The main criterion here is their usefulness and efficiency and the practical strengthening of socialism.

Our party and working class have always considered themselves part of the international labor movement. This was mentioned, in particular, at the 27th CPSU Congress. The main documents adopted at the congress and the new edition of the CPSU program it adopted relate to the struggle for the interest of the working class and all working people in the broadest possible context of global revolutionary developments.

The most important problem is, above all, that of the future of the working class in the nonsocialist country, under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution. Will it indeed disappear, as our ideological opponents claim? Or else, conversely, will it grow and gather new strength and acquire a new potential?

The structural and technological reorganization of the production process, based on the contemporary scientific and technical revolution is, naturally, accompanied by substantial changes in the structure of the working class. Statistical data indicate that in the capitalist countries the size of the industrial proletariat is declining, particularly fast in the case of workers engaged in physical labor (relatively and, in some areas, in absolute terms). The percentage of workers engaged in primarily intellectual work is increasing. The number of people employed in the service industry is growing at a faster pace. The essence of the problem is how to access the class affiliation of these new groups of hired labor. If we approach them as a kind of "middle class," it appears as though the scientific and technical revolution is questioning the very existence of the working class in the future.

As we know, this is a topic of lively debates including also among Marxist researchers. Our scientists as well have different nuances in their viewpoints. However, the "common denominator" of our thoughts may be reduced to roughly the following:

In terms of the basic, the main aspects, the situation of the new groups of hired labor within the system of capitalist exploitation is not different from that of workers engaged in physical labor. That is why it is not a "vanishing" of the working class that takes place, as our ideological opponents claim, but changes in its composition and increased structural complexity (sectorial, professional, etc.) and a modification of its social mentality.

Accelerating structural and technological production reorganization means giving priority to the latest sectors and restricting the old ones, which, for a long time, were the mainstay of the labor movement. On the one hand, a new type of highly skilled worker is developing, engaged in servicing "labor-intensive" equipment, which requires a rather high educational standard. On the other, the employment crisis is becoming aggravated and the number of working people who are either totally unemployed or forced to accept the harshest possible working conditions within the framework of the so-called "clandestine economy" is worsening. This frequently applies to members of oppressed nationalities and racial groups and foreign workers coming from the poorest countries.

This increases disparities within the working class and its heterogeneity. Naturally, we must not underestimate the seriousness of the political consequences of the current changes in terms of the labor movement and the activities of worker parties and trade unions. They are facing a number of new problems.

In the 1980s, profiting from the new situation which has developed on the labor market, the right-wing bourgeois and neoconservative groups have purposefully followed a line of dismembering and stratifying the working class, "diluting" its traditional nucleus and pitting some of its detachments against others. They are trying to weaken the influence of the trade unions and to isolate the best organized and combative detachments of the working class, such as the English miners and the French metallurgical workers. The bourgeoisie is trying to channel the social protest of the masses into the bed of conservatism and even right-wing extremism.

All traits of the present are indicate that a kind of counteroffensive is being mounted by capitalism against the working class, which naturally, should be thoroughly studied and assessed soberly and realistically. It is important to see not only the difficulties but also the new opportunities of the worker and democratic movements.

One way or another, and sooner or later the reality of life and struggle cannot fail to weaken the barriers of group exclusivity or awaken the desire for unification or else create an attraction for active political action by the working class, which would include its new strata. Unquestionably, the socioeconomic processes and the growth of the army of hired labor in the future will open new opportunities in the struggle against capitalist domination.

Inherent in the new, better educated and more skilled groups of hired labor, is a sharpened perception of problems related to the access to spiritual values and encroachments on individual rights and freedoms. Typical of them is their aspiration to participate in the making of decisions which affect their vital interest. Particularly important under these circumstances is the struggle for the minds, for the creation of new detachments of the working class and for their ideological and political orientation.

The tremendous potential of the knowledge, education and technical skills which the working class as a whole is acquiring is an efficient weapon in the struggle for the implementation of the objectives of the labor movement. If the "grapes of wrath," growing among the masses of the poor, are organically combined with the traditions of proletarian solidarity and with the new potential of knowledge we mentioned, the worker movement would be able not only to repel the pressure of capital but also to redeploy a broad offensive against the positions of monopolies and the reaction.

The share of the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America has sharply increased within the international working class. The total number of hired workers in these countries exceeds 200 million and is growing. The great role which this force can play not only in solving the national problems of their own countries but the entire global development is clear.

The problems of the labor movement in Third World countries are obviously quite different from those in the West.

In some aspects, they resemble those which the Russian working class encountered at the turn of the century. The working class in those countries, which is defending its class interest under conditions of a mixed economy and an exceptional variety of social relations, must establish and strengthen an alliance with all working and oppressed people, above all with the huge masses of the toiling peasantry. Obviously, satisfying the interests of this mass and, particularly, solving the agrarian-peasant problem on a democratic basis is, objectively, one of the key links in the struggle for social progress in the developing countries.

Understandably, it is virtually impossible to adopt the same yardstick in gauging the situation in all developing countries. The problems of the proletariat have their specific nature in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Nonetheless, the most important feature of the present situation everywhere is that the working class in the developing countries cannot successfully defend its interest and protect with all of its energy the nationwide cause of strengthening the gains of national independence and the struggle against the neocolonialist course of imperialism, which relies on the local bourgeois and landed oligarchy.

Yet another common feature is the vital importance to the working class of the liberated countries of problems related to development and surmounting economic backwardness.

Labor movement research in countries where such movement has been created and intensifying the development of its specific features could be of great help to the working class in the newly independent countries, which has appeared in the broad historical arena.

A major range of problems is related to the new features of production and capital internationalization, which have appeared in recent years.

The growth of multinational monopoly complexes means the creation of an international system of exploitation, which encompasses both the developed imperialist and Third World countries. The international maneuvering possibilities of capitalism have increased on an unparalleled scale. This is having a major influence on the living conditions and the struggle waged by the national detachments of the working class.

However, this is not all. Increasingly clear are changes in the production structure of the global capitalist economy, leading to the concentration of technologically simpler and ecologically "dirtier" types of production in countries where labor is cheap. The imperialist centers are trying to specialize in the production of particularly difficult and science-intensive output and, above all, in the production of knowledge and the development of the latest technologies. This, therefore, is a strategy of "technological imperialism," the purpose of which is to lay a new material base under neocolonial exploitation.

All of this is being combined with a policy of social revenge on a global scale and with undermining the independence of the peoples of the former colonies and semi-colonies, including the violent overthrow of democratic governments, unsuitable to imperialism. This is one of the main features of the so-called U.S. "neoglobalism."

Efforts to counteract the new imperialist strategy become particularly important. Naturally, this includes strengthening the international cohesion among working people and, in particular, the close interaction among those employed at enterprises of multinational monopolies operating in different countries.

Obviously, however, the problem is broader. It is a question of the growing significance of the struggle against neocolonialism and of surmounting the economic backwardness of the liberated countries in terms of the entire working class and all of its detachments. All of them are profoundly interested in the restructuring of international economic relations on a democratic basis, the elimination of the tremendous indebtedness of the developing countries and putting an end to the arbitrary behavior of multinational monopolies.

Last but not least, it is a question of the struggle against militarism, which is being cultivated by imperialism, and against its monstrous offspring--the military-industrial complex. If we look the truth in the eyes, we must point out that a certain percentage of the working peoples in the West are still under the influence of the myth of "prosperity through armament," which was developed by the defenders of the war business.

Imperialist propaganda is insinuating the concept of the stimulating effect of military orders on employment. It tries to link in the minds of the workers the prospects of their material well-being to the arms race. To a certain extent this explains why in a number of countries the working class has still not become sufficiently involved in the antiwar movement. Furthermore, the fact itself of an international confrontation is triggering and encouraging chauvinistic moods and leading some members of the working classes to the positions of the right or even the extreme right.

In exposing the pernicious influence of militarization on economic development, state policy, the situation of the working people and the realm of ideas and thoughts, Marxist research can and must seriously contribute to the struggle of the working class for its rights, including the most important one, the right to life. The Soviet working class and its party consider the struggle for strengthening peace and preventing thermonuclear war their main foreign political task, without the solution of which that of problems of the economic and social progress of all mankind would be inconceivable. This approach is an inseparable part of the new way of thinking. This is consistent with the conditions of the nuclear century. It organically blends the Marxist-Leninist principles of international policy with the humanistic and general democratic ideals of a great variety of social forces, such as social democratic and liberal circles and anyone seriously concerned with the self-preservation of mankind.

It is this new way of thinking that we are trying to embody in our foreign policy initiatives. The Soviet people highly value their support and the support of the international labor movement for the constructive foreign policy of the socialist community.

The great scientific and technical change in our age has created truly tremendous possibilities for solving problems related to the economic progress of all nations on earth and the total elimination of hunger, poverty, and economic backwardness and lifting hundreds of millions of people to the peaks of civilization. However, this potential can be used to its fullest only if mankind is relieved from the monstrous burden of militarization.

Only socialism can offer an alternative to capitalism, which is taking civilization to a dead end street of insurmountable contradictions and is threatening its very existence. We are convinced, on the basis of the experience of real socialism, that it is only the socialist social system, with the comprehensive development of its potential, that can provide a true solution to the problems encountered by mankind at the end of the 20th century. Naturally, this does not exclude but presumes the variety of forms of development of socialism and ways of approaching and converting to it. The working class is the main bearer of, the spokesman for the socialist alternative.

The Marxist position has been from the very first that the basic interests of the class of hired labor coincide with those of all mankind. According to Marx and Engels, the proletariat cannot free itself without at the same time freeing the entire society from exploitation and oppression. Lenin too emphasized and developed this fundamental Marxist idea.

Today the humanistic nature of the concept of the universal-historical mission of the working class is assuming a new, a more profound meaning and is becoming enriched with a new content. In the face of the threat of nuclear catastrophe hanging over mankind, we can justifiably claim that the historical mission of the working class includes the liberation of mankind from the prospect of death in the flames of a nuclear war. We have the right to claim that this also includes the solution of problems related to protecting the environment and other global problems facing the world community.

Increasingly broader labor circles are beginning to understand these problems and their depth and seriousness. This is confirmed by the documents of communist and social democratic parties and trade unions. Also noteworthy is the fact that sometimes quite energetic debates develop on the correlation between the struggle for peace and against war and the struggle for the current, the vital socioeconomic interests and demands of the working people.

Under the conditions of an offensive by capitalism and conservative forces, the socioeconomic requirements of the working people become particularly crucial and significant. However, they not only do not counter the struggle for peace but, conversely, blend with it within a single entity, for the arms race and the curtailing of social programs, the growth of military expenditures and mass unemployment, and militarization and the offensive against the rights of the working peoples in capitalist society and imperial

ambitions and a policy of discrimination and bans in trade with the socialist countries are all links of a single chain. In struggling for its socioeconomic interests, the working class objectively opposes the process of militarization of social life. By opposing the threat of war, it also defends its present vital interests.

In broader terms, on the international scale the struggle for preventing a world war, halting the arms race and developing new political and economic international relations is the basic, the main prerequisite for success in the solution of social problems which confront today all detachments of the international working class. This idea was most strongly expressed in the documents of the 11th World Trade Union Congress, the delegates to which represented nearly 300 million organized working people from all over the world.

The accurate formulation of all such problems enables us to rally the very broad circles of the working people far beyond the strictly proletarian ranks. This, in turn, ensures the proletariat the real aspiration to act as a national force which rallies all healthy forces in the nation.

The fact that at the present stage the interests of the working class, socialism and all mankind coincide as far as the basic problems of the existence of civilization are related, essentially creates a new historical situation and opens new opportunities for expanding the influence of the working class and its organizations on the life and aspiration of the entire society. We must note, however, that these opportunities are being used by no means fully and are not always even realized.

The socialist labor movement began its initial steps on the basis of concepts of the essential class commonality of basic interests and objectives of the working people of different countries. Since that time the size of the working class in the world has increased substantially. Today a working class is found virtually everywhere, in all parts of the world. This means the existence of an unparalleled variety of specific situations in which its various attachments and groups find themselves, and different types of production, labor and culture to which they are related. However different the situation of the individual groups of workers may be, everywhere, to one extent or another directly or indirectly, they are experiencing the influence of international factors. This is despite the attempts of conservative Western circles who assure us of the opposite. This also enables us to consider the working class as a universal community.

The variety of processes of internationalization in different areas of life--economic, political and cultural--contribute to intensifying trends in favor of the further internationalization of the labor movement. The objective commonality and coincidence of basic interests of the international working class, although it may represent today a complex and conflicting and politically and conceptually heterogeneous force, are not only preserved but increased. Hence the objective need and objective possibility of closer interaction among the individual forces, trends and sectors in the labor movement within national frameworks, on an international scale and in the world arena.

The history of the labor movement and its successes, defeats and errors and its exceptionally comprehensive experience remind us that class solidarity is not homage paid to a beautiful phrase, not only words. It has served and remains an effective means of worker self-guarantee and mutual aid and a factor for the multiplication of the forces of peace, progress and reason. However, history reminds us of something else as well: class solidarity has nothing in common with the strive toward monopoly in the labor movement and its ideological or organizational unification or anyone's supremacy and hegemonism within the movement.

These are precisely the positions on the basis of which the CPSU approaches the formulation of its place and its line in the international labor movement. The resolutions of the 27th Congress and the stipulations of our party program confirm this entirely, unequivocally and simply.

The problems which face the international labor movement cannot be solved by any one of its ideological and political trends. They require the joint efforts of all of its components. Naturally, we realistically assess their differences. However, they also have major points of contact in their approach to many problems. It is precisely from this that the CPSU and the Soviet trade unions proceed in structuring their relations with other parties and organizations belonging to other trends within the labor movement.

The CPSU favors expanded contacts and relations within the labor movement. By this it means a constant and frank exchange of views and equal and respectful cooperation, joint or parallel actions in the struggle for specific practical assignments and, naturally, above all for the elimination of the nuclear threat and the creation of comprehensive international security system.

It is our conviction that the dialogue within the labor movement today is is exceptionally necessary and important in itself: it is the best means, the best way of strengthening the positions of the labor movement in the world and a necessary prerequisite for its successful implementation of its historical mission. It is also the most essential factor in the expansion and intensification of the dialogue in the international arena in general, and the shaping and increase of the potential forces of peace, reason and goodwill.

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## STRATEGY OF ACCELERATION: THEORY AND PRACTICE

### PLANNED PRICE SETTING IN THE NEW ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

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[Text] The creation of an anti-outlay economic mechanism which would provide all the necessary conditions for the acceleration of the socioeconomic development our country on the basis of scientific and technical progress means a radical restructuring of the system of planning and economic incentive, price-setting, financing and crediting, organization of wages and material and technical supplies. It is a question of a new type of economic mechanism, oriented above all toward economic levers and management methods. Price-setting plays a key role in their development.

The system of steps which developed in the national economy is a combination of all of their types and rates, servicing the economic turnover of enterprises, associations, sectors and regions and economic relations among the state and the individual economic units and the population. It is an organic part of the single economic mechanism and its advancement can be fully efficient only with the parallel comprehensive improvement in the utilization of all of its other elements. The task was set at the 27th CPSU Congress of "ensuring the planned reorganization of the price system as a single entity..., linking its level not only to outlays but to the consumer qualities of commodities and the efficiency of items and degree of balancing output with the social needs and demands of the population."

In this connection, the study of the objective nature of prices within the socialist economy, called upon to provide a scientific substantiation for reliable recommendations aimed at improving the methodology and practice of planned price-setting, becomes particularly relevant.

#### I

The need for the greatest possible consistency in the cost of socially necessary labor outlays (ONZT) is universally acknowledged. To this day, however, a variety of positions and views exist in the interpretation of the content and methods for their definition under socialism, which proves both

the complexity of this problem and the insufficient attention which political economists have paid to the study of its nature and manifestations at the present stage of development of the socialist economy.

The viewpoint that outlays incurred under average socially normal production conditions are socially necessary is quite widespread. In turn, the concept of socially normal conditions is concretized in terms of individual sectors, enterprises, groups and production facilities. All that is left is the relatively simple problem of computing these average normal outlays (production costs) and, adding to them the standard profit, obtaining the planned price close to the ONZT. It was precisely this system that our price-setting practice followed and continues to follow. It is considered self-evident in this case that production costs (current manufacturing outlays) and the price based on them require no "external" acknowledgment whatsoever on the part of the consumer. It is believed that society, having established a procedure for setting prices on the basis of average sectorial planned production cost, determines, by this token, their socially necessary level, for enterprises which manage under better conditions and have below-average costs earn additional profits, while enterprises operating under worse conditions have above-average costs and, correspondingly, lesser profits or even losses. Consequently, the outlays of enterprises working under better or average conditions are the socially necessary ones and must be recognized in the price, while in the case of enterprises operating under worse conditions, they are not socially necessary and are not part of the price and should not be compensated for to the fullest extent.

This approach is based essentially on the concept that the production area is isolated from the other areas of the social reproduction system, consumption above all. Several questions legitimately arise: first, why is it that goods produced in accordance with social needs (in a socialist economy the social need must be taken into consideration with the national economic plan) under relatively worse conditions and with above-average outlays should be underprofitable or even losing; second, is it proper to set criteria for socially necessary production outlays only on the basis of such outlays within the production area or do they exceed its limits?

In other words, should we consider outlays socially necessary only because they have been made (regardless of whether under average, worse or better conditions) or should their social need need confirmation from the outside, in accordance with the conditions of which the goods are consumed, i.e., the social usefulness of such output?

In "Das Kapital" K. Marx wrote that "...An object cannot be of value without being an object of consumption. If it is useless, the labor wasted on it is also useless. It is not considered labor and, therefore, does not form any value whatsoever." In his work "Sketches on the Critique of Political Economy," F. Engels noted: "Value is the correlation between production outlays and usefulness. The most immediate application of value taken place in solving the problem of whether it is worth it in general to produce a given object, i.e., does its usefulness cover production costs" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 23, p 49; vol 1, p 552).

On the basis of these concepts, in our view, the conclusion is that the ONZT cannot be considered an outlay based exclusively on production conditions. They are a reproduction category and, consequently, directly depend on the conditions of trade, distribution and consumption. The most important of these three areas is consumption, for it is only here that the social consumer value is realized and the usefulness of the commodity is manifested and, therefore, the social need is satisfied. In turning to the conditions of the new socioeconomic system which would replace capitalism, K. Marx emphasized that "it is only where production is controlled by society, which truly predetermines this output, that a link is created by society between the quantity of social working time spent in the production of a specific item and the amounts of the social need which must be satisfied with the help of this item" (op cit., vol 25, part I, p 205). Therefore, the full national economic outlays for the production of commodities meeting social needs must act as ONZT. They must include both direct expenditures of raw materials, materials, fuel, energy, wages, etc., for commodity output as well as the actual overall social outlays based on reproduction conditions. For example, this means that the prices of goods in sectors exploiting nature, in which production conditions are largely determined by objective natural factors, it is necessary to take rental payments into consideration and labor outlays in all sectors must be assessed not only on the basis of the wages paid to the workers but also all the social expenditures involved in the reproduction of manpower. At the same time, it is necessary to solve the problem of setting prices of the conditions for self-financing and self-recovery in all economic sectors, not through the compensation of all factual outlays but only the socially necessary outlays, i.e., those acknowledged as part of the process of commodity marketing. This will also create price guarantees for the development and strengthening of total cost accounting.

Since resource outlays and output of commodities based on social needs become interrelated within the plans for the development of the national economy, in order to solve the problems of maintaining the natural and value balance, the objective need appears for the coordination between plans and prices.

Any 5-year plan must include a system of prices which would stimulate its implementation. This approach, however, does not indicate the need for an overall review of prices and price rates at the beginning of each subsequent 5-year period, for the conditions governing the production and consumption of commodities change unevenly from sector to sector. Furthermore, the introduction of partial changes in price levels and correlations in individual sectors and production facilities at the beginning of the 5-year period (wherever the objective need for such changes exists) establishes the essential possibility of abandoning overall simultaneous price revisions and thus of ensuring a more efficient solution of the problem of combining their stability and flexibility. We must bear in mind in this case, however, that requirements governing the economic substantiation of prices become substantially stricter. Whereas now, with significant changes made in production conditions and commodity consumption, whenever errors and omissions related to the price-setting process are discovered, corresponding corrections in price levels and correlations are possible, in the case of their stability over a 5-year period priority is given to the task of scientifically predicting possible changes at the time the 5-year plan is being formulated.

Due to the fact that a current price-setting system is largely oriented toward taking outlays into consideration, the possibility and means of planned price changes are essentially related to the dynamics of production costs. The last 20 years have been characterized by increased outlays in the production of industrial and agricultural commodities and a rather intensive increase in the cost of capital construction, which has correspondingly influenced the current stage and price changes in the national economy. The only possibility of surmounting this trend is drastically upgrading the growth rates of social labor productivity. It is only thus that the level of production outlays in the extracting industrial sectors and in agriculture would be stabilized during the 12th and subsequent 5-year periods, and their tangible reduction in machine building, metal processing, chemistry, petrochemistry and the light and food industries would be achieved.

2

The problem of the consumer value or usefulness of a commodity is given priority when we discuss the result of public production. No other way is possible, for social wealth is characterized not by the amount of expended resources but by the volume of material and spiritual goods which were created, goods which are the more valuable the more they satisfy the needs of society. In this connection, we must agree with the fact that "paying attention to consumer value and to the methods for assessing and measuring it is the imperative of the time, related to the turn taken by the national economy toward the fuller satisfaction of needs" (V.A. Medvedev. "Upravleniye Sotsialisticheskim Proizvodstvom: Problemy Teorii i Praktiki" [Socialist Production Management: Problems of Theory and Practice]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1983, p 250).

Unfortunately, so far our science of economics has paid insufficient attention to the category of consumer value. This has also affected the results of practical work in planning and price setting. Frequently, in discussing ONZT, it is emphasized that these are outlays and therefore, all that is needed is to estimate them accurately in order to obtain an entirely reliable base for planned prices. In this case, the fact that such outlays are socially necessary by definition is either pushed into the background or entirely ignored. This implies that the social need for such outlays must be somehow given a price.

The only possible assessment criterion is the consumer value or the social usefulness of the created commodities. This, in our view, is confirmed by the following basic stipulation of Marxist-Leninist political economy: "In the future society, where the antagonism among classes will disappear and where no classes will exist, consumption will no longer be determined in terms of the minimum of time needed for production; conversely, the amount of time which will be dedicated to the production of one item or another will be determined by the extent of the social usefulness of this object" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op cit., vol 4, p 97).

The creation of consumer values is the direct objective of socialist production. It is precisely their overall amount which determines the socially necessary outlays. It is no accident, for example, that in the

theory of the efficiency of public production the criterion of minimum outlays is accurate only if it is identical to useful results or the creation of consumer value. The problem may be formulated differently as well: the maximally useful result (consumer values) with a fixed level of production outlays.

Therefore, in approaching the ONZT from national economic positions, the latter cannot be considered by themselves, isolated from the useful results they provide. That is why planned prices in the socialist economy must essentially equally reflect both useful results (consumer value) as well as socially necessary resource outlays related to achieving said results. Consequently, it is a problem not only of perfecting the accountability of outlays but also of determining the useful results or the consumer value of output. Furthermore, under contemporary conditions, it is precisely the latter that assumes priority.

In this case we believe that useful result and consumer value are, essentially, similar categories in political economy, expressing the ability of the product of labor to satisfy one social requirement or another. A useful or a socially economic result is a more specific category which expresses the overall economy of social labor obtained in the use of a produced commodity, considered in terms of value.

Unfortunately, the so-called commodity-expert interpretation of the category of consumer value has gained some popularity. According to it the object (item) with its specific set of technical and economic parameters and its consumer value are simply equated. At that point the concept of consumer value in planning and price setting is considered an aspiration to increase the physical, the rigid planning by the center of "consumer values" in terms of pieces, meters, tons, etc.

Typical in this connection is the view of economists who assume that the demand of giving priority to consumer value over production cost means an appeal to produce the necessary items regardless of outlays and that, in this case, a pro-outlay rather than an anti-outlay mechanism would develop.

We find it difficult to accept such arguments. To begin with, the priority of consumer value over production cost, conceived not as a priority of an item over rubles but as a priority of target over means, is objectively inherent in the socialist economic system, and as such can be nothing but the social consumer value (usefulness) of the produced commodity which satisfies social requirements. This usefulness is measured not in "physical terms" as such but in terms of the socioeconomic efficiency of commodities in the consumption area. It is precisely such commodities that must be given priority in both planning and price setting. There can not even be a question of any "naturalizing" of centralized planning or rationing.

Secondly, no one asks for producing regardless of outlays. A comparison between results and costs is axiomatic for any type of economic management, the more so if the task is to improve public efficiency, which can improve only to the extent to which the former exceeds the latter. Furthermore, currently results can be characterized not only in terms of the volume of

produced "physical pieces," but also in terms of their social usefulness which we must learn how to determine in all areas of economic activities and, above all, in planning.

Now, when the economy has taken the path of primarily intensive development, which presumes less a quantitative increase in the volumes of output than their quality improvements with a view to the best possible satisfaction of social needs, the economic role of the consumer in making economic decisions, including decisions on price levels and correlations, basically changes. This process is objectively inevitable under the conditions of the gradual elimination of the planned imbalance and shortages in the economy.

We know that it is precisely an imbalanced economy with shortages that leads to the diktat on the part of the producer, manifested mainly and above all in the request for compensating virtually all production outlays in the manufacturing of commodities, demand for which is unlimited. Under such circumstances, it would be naive to demand equal partnership between producer and consumer in price setting, not to mention assigning the latter a priority status. It is no accident that our price-setting methodology and practice used for many decades in price setting a pure-outlay model, adapting to it even price markups for efficiency and quality. The same situation prevails to this day, although it has long been proved not only in the theory of planned price setting but also tested in a number of mathematical models that in the case of socialism, the purpose of which is the maximal satisfaction of needs, prices must reflect the social consumer value of the goods, thus acting as a substantiated economic standard of production costs. The fact that this concept is currently becoming increasingly acknowledged is explained, above all, by the fact that the economy itself has reached new levels at which the problem of simple quantitative growth of volumes of output for the majority of commodities, we must presume, has become forever part of the past. The elimination of shortages and imbalance makes economic relations entirely natural, for with increasing frequency we are discovering the elementary truth that consumption is the purpose of production. Adding to this the fact that the possibilities of consumers to choose are being steadily expanded (today this applies to a greater extent to consumer goods; in the not-so-distant future, the same will apply also to industrial goods), the producer will be oriented toward real consumer demand and the production process itself will be efficient only providing that it meets specific consumer demand. It is under these conditions that the economic base of the diktat imposed by the producer will be undermined. Furthermore, the need for numerous supervising authorities and inspectorates, endless investigations and audits will become unnecessary, for it would be difficult to imagine a better controller than the consumer who will formulate his price requirements most clearly. Their level will be substantiated only by the extent of the usefulness of the commodity in the consumption area.

In his report to the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, M.S. Gorbachev said: "A price increase is justified only if it is the result of substantial improvements in the consumer qualities of the goods or the greater efficiency of items." It is precisely here that we find a direct link between prices and the consumer value of output. Increased outlays are not a basis for higher prices. The line of price changes which is the natural limit of the level of

production costs and proves (or does not!) the socially necessary outlays of the manufacturer can and must define nothing but the increased useful effect of the commodity.

This connection is interpreted quite simply in Marxist political economy: "...The product as a consumer value has a certain limit, i.e., the limit of the need for it.... Wherever the need for any specific consumer value ends, the product stops being a consumer need. In terms of its consumer value, the product is rated according to the need for it" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op cit., vol 46, part I, p 381).

Therefore, if a created product meets a given social requirement, it also has a social consumer value. However, this is insufficient in terms of raising the category of consumer value to the level of indicators used in price setting. The social consumer value of output of goods for industrial use, for example, is manifested in its socioeconomic and ecological efficiency. But how to determine it?

Obviously, by the amount of the economy of social labor and means obtained by the consumer of such output and, consequently, by society as a whole. The efficiency of means of production in the consumption area must be given a value rating, for no physical indicators (caloricity of fuel, freight capacity of trucks, productivity of machine tools, etc.) can provide an overall assessment of efficiency, for they characterize only individual consumer qualities of the item. Furthermore, virtually all types of modern consumer goods have a multiplicity of consumer properties, distinguished not only in terms of different physical dimensions but also sometimes of their different effects (for example, if we increase the power and the traction of tractors their productivity increases but, at the same time, so does the specific pressure exerted on the soil, which has an adverse ecological effect). Such heterogeneous consumer properties can be combined only by estimating the overall national economic effect in the consumption area.

At the present time quite suitable methods for computing the economic effect of industrial commodities have been developed (although we cannot say that all problems here have been solved), and are being extensively applied in draft plan computations in virtually all industrial sectors. The question of computing the social and ecological affects of output is much more complex, for the indicators of such effects are difficult to determine quantitatively, for which reason use is made of expert evaluations. Here as well, however, no basic insurmountable difficulties exist.

Since the national economic effect of output is estimated and given a streamlined quantitative expression through the value of the measurement, it is this value that should be used as the upper limit of the price, which does not depend on the size of the production costs of the manufacturer yet objectively limits their level.

The problem is that currently the level of the potential effect is computed by the producer himself, who officially coordinates it with the consumer. In the current economic mechanism this practice is frequently reduced to a substantial increase in the value of the potential (estimated) effect compared

to the real (actual) one manifested in the consumption area. This situation can be corrected by substantially strengthening the role of the consumer. To accomplish this, however, we must convert from the funded allocation of means of production to wholesale trade in such items. In that case the consumer should have the possibility not only to "grab what he can" but also to order from the producer that which he truly needs and which will be of maximal efficiency to him, indicating in the contract (by agreement with the producer) the price limit which will ensure the real efficiency of the goods he purchases. Under these circumstances, the economic interest of the manufacturer will coincide with those of the consumer, for the price, based on results, will be such as to compensate for his production costs and ensure a standard (or even higher) profit. Commodities the manufacturing costs of which will exceed national economic results should not be produced at all or, if nevertheless produced, turn out to be losing commodities.

As we can see, in order for society to be able to control on a planned basis the process of increased efficiency, the price system must be made consistent with the consumer value of the output and thus turn prices into an efficient economic instrument in assessing production costs.

### 3

The formulation of the basic trends in the systematic reorganization of the price system as a single entity should be based on the overall concept and principles of scientific price setting. We accept as such the combined elaboration of national economic plans and prices which would stimulate their implementation; reflecting in the prices the usefulness and socioeconomic efficiency of the consumed output; the conversion of prices into standards for national economic outlays and production results and, consequently, into an instrument for coordinating the economic interest of society and the enterprises; the formulation of a basic model of planned prices which would take into consideration payments (based on respective standardizing coefficients) for the utilization of production resources and, at the same time, would solve the problem of including in the prices provisions for self-financing the necessary payments to the budget; a consideration in the prices of the scarcity or relative surplus of output; a combination of centralization with decentralization in price setting, and timely overall price revisions and current price controls.

The implementation of such requirements in price-setting practices presumes the elaboration of an entire set of steps aimed at perfecting all types of prices--wholesale and retail.

The currently existing levels and ratios in the wholesale prices of industrial output no longer meet the requirement of upgrading the efficiency of public production on the basis of primarily intensive economic management methods and the application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

As a result of the reduced prices of raw material resources, adequate accumulations for work under conditions of self-financing are not ensured and society loses the criteria of the true efficiency of the application of intensive technologies in raw material extraction and processing and carrying

out extensive measures for resource conservation and comprehensive utilization of multi-component natural raw materials. The orientation of prices in the extracting industry toward average sectorial outlays prevents us from taking into consideration differentiated payments or assessing the real social efficiency of new industrial-grade deposits. Establishing prices on the basis of rising or diminishing outlays enables us not only to take into consideration the amount of rent paid by an enterprise working under average or better conditions but also to assess the cost to society of the additional production of a specific type of raw material or, conversely, the advantages of its conservation.

Wholesale prices of commodities produced by processing sectors (machine building above all) allow them today to accumulate funds substantially exceeding the need for capital investments for expanded reproduction. Therefore, even with a certain increase in the cost of production of extracting and raw material sectors, the possibility remains of maintaining or even somewhat reducing the overall price levels in processing industrial sectors. Here, however, the problem of upgrading the role of prices in providing incentives for scientific and technical progress is particularly crucial.

The thoughtless wish to compensate through prices all actual costs of the development of technical innovations, even the most progressive ones (robots technology, microprocessors, flexible automated production systems, processing centers, etc.), could create only an apparent stimulation of scientific and technical progress if such outlays are not redeemed by the amount of useful results actually benefiting the users of such innovations.

The faulty methodology and practice of price setting currently found in this area, lead to significant increases in the cost of production of new equipment and to raising its prices compared to results obtained in the consumption area and, as a result, to a lower return on investments in technical production retooling and reconstruction.

As in the past, prices are set under the pressure of the producers, who not only set the level of their production costs, which is entirely natural, but also the size of the potential (as a rule inflated) consumer results. The consumers themselves are actually removed from the actual price-setting process. In our view, this situation can be corrected by strictly observing the principle of reducing prices per unit of useful effect of new equipment compared with the one it replaces. This means that the wholesale price cannot exceed the amount of the overall useful effect obtained by the consumer in the course of the use of the item.

Therefore, the main trend in perfecting wholesale prices of industrial commodities should be their increasing correlation with the technical and economic features of items which ensure real useful results in the national economy. The price must not be simply a yardstick of production costs but also a proof of the extent of social usefulness of an item and its potential possibility of making a certain contribution to increasing national economic production results.

Perfecting the purchase prices of agricultural commodities is of great importance in the acceleration of socioeconomic development. The present system of such prices developed under the influence of the concept of their zonal and intrazonal differentiation, aimed at ensuring conditions for official cost accounting for most farms. Therefore, the purchase prices of the most important types of agricultural commodities differ among the natural-climatic areas of the country and, within the zones, among administrative rayons and groups of farms, based on the actual level of production costs. Essentially, this is a price-setting principle based on production costs. It is oriented not toward socially necessary but toward individual cost. It triggers an equalizing incentive by zone and group of farms, preventing the use of prices as a major economic criterion in the substantiation of planning decisions relative to the development of agricultural production, location, specialization, cooperation, etc.

Obviously, the gradual consolidation of price zones and a drastic reduction of zonal and elimination of intrazonal differences must be adopted as the main trend in perfecting purchase prices. In the future we should convert to uniform purchase prices for basic agricultural commodities, oriented toward the level of socially necessary outlays in their specialized production zones. In order to take fully into consideration differentiated payments in agriculture, the uniform purchase prices in the consolidated natural-economic zones must take into consideration the cost of enterprises farming under relatively worse natural conditions.

The overall level of purchase prices of crop and animal husbandry products and of all basic types of commodity output of such sectors must not exceed the level of retail prices. It is precisely their dynamics, rather than changes in production costs of agricultural commodities, as is currently the case, that should essentially determine the dynamics of purchase prices. It is only by taking this correlation into consideration that we could consider also the problem of the socially necessary profitability of agricultural production and the creation of cost accounting conditions for enterprises in this sector and the organization of their economic interrelationship with the budget.

The further increase in the volume of agricultural output and its improved efficiency on the basis of increased labor productivity and the use of intensive technologies will obviously enable us in the future to abandon markups in purchase prices for increased sales to the state of commodities over and above the average level attained during the preceding 5-year period, as well as price markups for commodities sold to the state by underprofitable or losing kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

Deformations and shortcuts in the current price system, manifested in particular in lowering the prices of commodities produced by nature-exploiting sectors as a result of the incomplete consideration of rental payments and the fact that purchase and wholesale prices are higher than the levels of retail prices for a number of comestible goods, necessarily lead to major budget subsidies for the compensation of such differences, as the result of which the price system is not contributory to maintaining a balance between material and value proportions in the national economy.

State subsidies, totaling millions of rubles, used as price differential compensations, distort the nature of economic relations in the national economy and lead to negative consequences in the areas of production, distribution, trade and consumption. The planned reorganization of the price system as a single entity should eliminate or, in any case, drastically reduce subsidies in the national economy. This is particularly important in solving the problem of perfecting retail prices.

The current system historically developed under the influence of complex economic and sociopolitical processes. The main trends of the price policy in this area over the past 30 years were to preserve the stability of state retail prices for commodities of prime necessity, while at the same time increasing the population's monetary income, which enhanced the level of the people's well-being. The socioeconomic efficiency of such a policy should be manifested, above all, in the dynamically maintained correlation between population income, commodity availability and demand. Here we must be guided by the principle of strict proportionality between the measure of labor and the measure of consumption.

Whereas the social evaluation of the quantity and quality of labor is summed up in worker the wages, the level and structure of consumption of the various population strata depend not only on wages but also on the level and correlation among prices of various types of goods and services, and the possibility of their free purchase. That is why the policy of retail prices is one of the most important instruments in implementing the principle of social justice.

So far, however, this policy has not been related to the policy of income and the availability of goods. The result was a violation of the overall economic balance and the constantly arising partial disproportions between supply and demand. In this respect socialist political economy rendered a poor service, if one may say so, by supporting over a long period of time the idea that the constant excess of demand over supply is, allegedly, an advantage of a planned economy. It is clear, however, that such a "basic" concept is convenient in justifying imbalance, shortages and a declining purchasing power of the ruble, etc., which became particularly aggravated by the turn of the 1980s. Under the conditions which developed, the intensifying process of a covert price increase, manifested not only in eliminating inexpensive varieties and raising average prices, but also in increasing prices to a greater extent than improvements in the consumer features of items, and in maintaining price levels despite worsened consumer features of commodities in mass demand, became a major socioeconomic problem.

It was believed until recently, for example, that the principle of social justice is consistent with a policy of low prices of meat and dairy goods. As a result of a systematically followed line of stable state prices for meat and milk, despite a steady increase in purchase prices, the amount of subsidies over the past 25 years, used to fill the gap between retail and purchase prices, exceeded 50 billion rubles annually. The state outlays for the production and marketing of beef today exceed the level of average retail prices by a factor of 2.8 or, respectively, by a factor of 1.8 for pork, 1.8 for milk, and 2.4 for butter. Furthermore, the study of the social

consequences of the policy of prices of meat and dairy goods by population group indicates that, after a while, it became a factor which violated the principle of social justice. The point is that with an actual saturation of population requirements for basic food products of prime necessity (bread, bakery goods, groats, milk, potatoes, sugar, etc.) and their relatively low price, demand for meat and meat products increased intensively as the population's monetary income improved, while supply in the state trade system fell substantially behind. This contributed to increased shortages and uneven distribution of commodity stocks in the various parts of the country. This violated the principle of equal accessibility of meat and meat products to all population strata on the basis of fixed state retail prices. The actual purchase price of meat by the various population strata began to differ substantially from list prices, depending on the share of the state in meeting the needs of the population for meat, the degree of accessibility of meat and meat products in state retail stores for the various population groups, price fluctuations on the kolkhoz market, etc.

The study of budget statistics indicated that the average purchase price of a kilogram of beef by population groups with a low average per capita income exceeded by approximately 50 percent the average price of the same purchase by population groups with a high per capital income. The result, therefore, is that most of the state subsidies of meat and dairy goods were redistributed in favor of the latter.

Similar violations in the correlation among the real income of the different population groups arise also as a consequence of the rigid policy of rents and rates of communal services. Here as well a significant percentage of state subsidies go to individuals enjoying better housing conditions, for the amount of their rent does not compensate even by one half the cost to the state of housing upkeep.

As we may see, a number of problems have accumulated within the retail price-setting system, the radical solution of which is possible only on the basis of carrying out a comprehensive reform of the system of the population monetary income, payments from social consumption funds and retail prices of consumer goods and services. In such a reform, the level of retail prices of industrial commodities for consumer use could be reduced somewhat and that of food products, increased. Under such circumstances, we could contemplate a compensation for the low-income population groups on an immediate and full basis, and for the average and high-income families, in the course of overall measures to perfect wages, i.e., with a certain time gap. However, we should not ignore the task of steadily maintaining not only the overall but also the structural (i.e., by commodity group) balance in the consumer goods market.

Therefore, the basic criterion in substantiating the retail price system and, at the same time, the main requirement governing its development is ensuring an overall and a structural balance in the national economy between population income and offer of consumer goods and paid services. It is only on the basis of such a dynamically maintained balance that the efficient implementation of the principle of lowering retail prices of consumer goods is possible, as their output increases, as resources and reserves accumulate and as their production outlays decline. Naturally, the dynamic balance between supply and

demand should not be ensured exclusively through prices. We must make extensive use also of methods of directly influencing the production process with a view to increasing (reducing) the volumes of output of certain commodities and the planned management of demand through proper advertising, creating new needs, etc.

We see, therefore, that the problem of retail prices is difficult and its solution is related to the elimination of significant deformations, shortcuts and disparities in the prices themselves and in the methodology and organization of price setting. We must not forget that retail prices affect the interest of one and all and have a direct impact on the level of the real well-being of the population. They are a major economic tool in national economic balancing and harnessing the accumulations of the socialist state. Any partial changes in the levels and ratios of retail prices must take place within the framework of the overall concept of perfecting the economic mechanism and the price system.

The main way in solving such problems is to saturate the market with a broad variety of commodities and services which would meet the solvent demand of all population categories and strata. This presumes a profound restructuring of all material production sectors related to meeting the needs of the people and creating a situation in which it is not the consumer who runs after the commodities and services he needs but the production process and the trade system themselves which become vitally interested in the consumer's ruble and try to meet his specific demands more completely, faster and better.

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## New Way of Thinking and Working

### QUALITY OF OUTPUT: FRONT-LINE OF THE RESTRUCTURING

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[Article by K. Klautsen, first secretary of the Latvian CP Riga Gorkom]

[Text] The question of production quality, of the quality of all work, is the most acute and topical among the most important problems of upgrading production efficiency. As was noted at the 27th CPSU Congress, this is not only an economic but also a political problem. This is understandable, for it affects the interest of all of us and society as a whole, directly influencing the pace of scientific and technical progress, the quantitative aspects of output, resource conservation and, in the final account, the level of satisfaction of the growing needs of the Soviet people. Today, when the growth of quality labor indicators and end results become an urgent requirement everywhere, the close study of specific local experience becomes particularly important; this does not exclude the study of the difficulties and problems encountered by the party organizations operating on the front-line of the struggle for the accelerated development of all areas of our life.

### In Search of New Approaches

In considering today the tasks related to upgrading production quality, the following question becomes legitimate: What are the reasons for the exceptional urgency of tasks in this area today? Is it not true that some 10 or even 15 years ago we considered the problem of quality as "most important," "basic" and "essential?" Did we not pass at that time corresponding resolutions, were there not rather useful initiatives, did we not set up regional systems for production quality control, actively promoted by mass information media? One of the 5-year periods was directly proclaimed a "5-year period of efficiency and quality...." Nevertheless, excluding some outstanding accomplishments (most of which were the result of exceptional labor intensiveness of items, the so-called "exhibit stock"), in recent years the situation as a whole not only failed to improve but, conversely, worsened. What made this process possible?

Unquestionably, the main answer to all such questions was provided at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the 27th Party Congress and the subsequent party documents, where the concept of acceleration of socioeconomic development and reorganization of all realms of our activities without

exception was pitted with bolshevik bluntness against the contemplative approach, which was dominant until recently, not only to problems of quality but to other no less crucial and broad problems, reduced to efforts to change matters for the better without, essentially, changing anything. That is precisely why the economic situation related to the essential exhaustion of the possibilities of extensive growth was not taken into consideration at the proper time; the necessary persistence in the utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and the restructuring of the economic mechanism in accordance with the requirements of the time was not manifested. The harmfulness of such a method, if one may describe it as such, is today universally known, although we shall still frequently come across some deeply rooted negative phenomena. We believe that a comprehensive awareness is growing of the need to oppose the inertia of former ideas according to which one could endlessly avoid the solution of difficult but urgent problems.

The pressure of the notorious "gross output," the mania for percentages and the penchant of some of those in charge for what is known as quick and report-saturated successes, time after time gave second if not last priority to efforts for quality improvements. This is also greatly the fault of anyone who, one way or another, influenced the solution of specific problems of producing goods needed by the people. Therefore, we should not accuse our neighbors of errors and blunders committed in the recent past. We must always remember that the key to reorganization is in us, in the thorough and uncompromising look at anything described as our professional baggage.

What is the most typical feature of our town's industry from the quality viewpoint? Above all, it involves a number of alarming symptoms of loss of reputation of items produced in Riga on the foreign and domestic markets. Last year, for example, the republic submitted for export items which did not exceed even 3 percent of the overall volume of output (approximately two-thirds of the republic's industrial potential is concentrated in Riga). The number of claims filed against items produced by our largest associations, such as Radiotekhnika, REZ (Riga Electrical Machine Building Plant), Rigaselmash and other enterprises, increased noticeably. Difficulties arose in meeting the population's demand of high-quality clothing and shoes. This took place before the good reputation of our goods had declined, a reputation which had been largely earned as a result of old traditions of conscientious and skillful work.

We cannot say that we had ignored problems of quality in the past. On the contrary, the people of Riga tried not to lower their attention in this area. Last 5-year period the city party organization gained substantial experience in developing comprehensive quality, labor and efficiency control systems. Their main purpose was to raise the level of all certified output, particularly new commodities, to the superior category level. The use of comprehensive systems was steadily supervised by the party gorkom and raykom buros, the party committees of enterprises and the quality commissions under the party committees. By the end of the 5-year period there were quality control territorial systems in all city rayons and at most industrial enterprises. Naturally, all of this yielded results. In terms of the indicator of the production of items bearing the state Emblem of Quality, Riga assumed leading positions in the republic and in the country: in 1985 the

city produced more than 280 different items of quality, the share of which in the overall volume of output was 61.5 percent, compared to the planned figure of 58.2 percent. Above-plan goods worth 48.5 million rubles, stamped with the pentagonal honor mark, were produced.

I am citing such data only in order to emphasize even more the conclusion drawn by the Riga party and economic aktivs, based on the study of the existing situation, proving that a rather impressive series of satisfactory figures cannot compensate for the alarming trends in the struggle for production quality. The conclusion is that the comprehensive quality control system on all levels of operation was unable to fulfill its role entirely. Many most important aspects of the production process remained outside the pale of our control and influence. This applied, above all, to the technical retooling of enterprises and the mastery of advanced technologies. For example, recently by decision of the Latvian Republic Administration of the USSR Gosstandart, 11 types of items produced by the republic's industry lost their state Emblem of Quality. Most of them were produced precisely at Riga enterprises which remained largely unaffected by scientific and technical progress.

Understandably, the problem of extensive technical updating of the production process did not appear suddenly. For example, in the course of the application of comprehensive quality control systems, the economic result of the use of new equipment and technologies exceeded 100 million rubles for the city enterprises. Still we cannot ignore the fact that most of Riga's plants and factories, many them over a century old, lack the necessary scientific and technical base for further reliable improvements in production quality. Furthermore, even the strictest possible observance of the requirements of the state Emblem of Quality frequently failed to pass the test of consumer demand, for the simple reason that some standards had disregarded the best world models and were the result of narrow departmental interests and concepts.

Let me cite the example of the Riga-8 washing machine, produced by the REZ Association, of the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry. Everything seems to indicate that both the enterprise and the ministry are fully satisfied with the morally obsolete features of this item. It is as though they are unaware of the fact that in the course of the decades during which the washer has been manufactured, there have been major changes in the demand for such items. Unfortunately, this is not an isolated case.

Therefore, the existing situation calls for the formulation of steps which would fully apply contemporary quality criteria. Soon after the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, on the initiative on the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, the approach itself to said problem was drastically changed. The target which was set was to organize in the immediate future the production of machines, equipment, instruments, materials, consumer goods and other most important items the technical and economic indicators of which would be consistent with world standards. The specific aspects of this work are defined in the Quality-90 comprehensive republic program, which was recently approved by the collegium of the USSR Gosstandart and which it recommended for extensive application throughout the country.

What are the program's most noteworthy features? It was based on the positive

elements of the experience acquired in the past 5-year period in the course of the application of territorial quality control systems. Now, however, it is not sectorial criteria but the competitiveness of the goods and the extent to which they meet the best world standards that are the basic indicator. This 5-year period the most important types of commodities produced in the republic will be raised to the level of the best global achievements, based on 39 target standards (programs). The implementation of the Quality-90 comprehensive program will enable us, by 1990, to increase the share of superior quality items to 70-75 percent of the overall volume of goods subject to certification in light industry, bearing the N index, and to 36-38 percent for particularly fashionable items; the share of superior quality items in the food industry will be raised to 30-40 percent. As a whole, the share of items within the overall volume of output, which can compete on the international market, will approximately double. Each of the target programs includes a set of steps to be implemented in Latvia and beyond it. As to Riga, it will be necessary to organize the production of items based on 28 priority items of the Quality-90 program. Unquestionably, this task assigns great responsibility to the party committees and all party members in the city. Within a short time we must restore and enhance the reputation of Riga-made goods.

Under these circumstances, the party gorkom faced the natural problem of its own role and place in the tremendous amount of work related to the implementation of the program. A variety of suggestions were formulated by the gorkom buro. All of them, however, in the course of a joint study, revealed, albeit to a different extent, a duplication of the problems the solution of which is within the range of competence of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee or the city party raykoms. An idea worthy of attention and directly based on practical requirements, was born as the result of the meetings and talks held with a large group of directors and chief engineers of Riga enterprises, which were sponsored by the gorkom last summer, soon after the June CPSU Central Committee conference on problems of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. It was established that two problems are now prevalent in the minds and hearts of our best economic managers: perfecting economic management and strengthening the material and technical base of enterprises. Having realistically assessed its possibilities, the party gorkom decided to concentrate maximal attention on the second and equally important problem. This produced the initial variant of the Reconstruction-90 city program, which we submitted last year at the precongress accountability and election party conference.

The Riga party members supported the party gorkom and greatly refined and enriched the program's concept. We were greatly helped in concretizing it by the republic's gosplan. Today Reconstruction-90 is giving support to all of our 28 target programs for upgrading production quality through intensive yet fully substantiated assignments in the areas of capital construction and technical retooling of industry. Let me mention some typical aspects of our forthcoming work.

In the course of the 5-year period the city's industry must invest about 900 million rubles in reconstruction. The number of installed technological processes meeting the strictest contemporary requirements should be increased

by no less than 50 to 100 percent. The program calls for updating basic production assets by approximately 35 percent and, in machine building, approximately 45 percent, over the 5-year period. The time for reaching planned capacity at reconstructed enterprises and of the investment cycle in construction will be reduced by one-half. Our task is to reduce manual labor outlays drastically, by 15-20 percent. At the same time, we are planning for the next 2 to 3 years not only to halt the decline of capital returns but even to ensure a certain increase. The Riga party members will assume special responsibility for the successful result of such projects, for the main parameters of the Reconstruction-90 program have become a structural part of the republic's Quality-90 program.

Today the position of the party gorkom buro is characterized by enviable unanimity: all of us are convinced that it is only on the firm basis of the new equipment and technology that we shall be able to attain the targets formulated in the Quality-90 comprehensive city program, which is the regional analogue of the republic program. What is the situation now with the work aimed at solving these most important problems of the city party organization? What are the problems which arise in this case?

Let me note, above all, the mobilizing role of the extremely specific objectives which are clearly formulated and systematized in the republic and city programs for upgrading production quality. It is precisely the indicators of these programs that were adopted as a starting point by the Riga party members for their daily organizational work. We are trying not to replace the economic management authorities anywhere. Today the most topical tasks of the city and rayon party committees are to manage the economy through political methods, to concentrate on work with cadres and to study the specific actions of the people and their behavioral motivations.

Frankly speaking, still not by any means are all party workers making skillful use of methods which would make them fully deserving the high title of "reorganization commissars." The liking by some party committee secretaries for direct economic involvement remains strong. However, here as well an important change has been noted. We are doing everything possible to consolidate positive trends in updating the work style of party committees. For example, we have decided that our city party committee must abandon once and for all the habit of requesting any kind of information exceeding the limits of accountability data approved by the USSR Central Statistical Administration. We have set up an information center under the gorkom, equipped with a computer. We hope that this will enable us drastically to reduce document turnover and substantially to improve information support of our decisions. The party gorkom departments and its secretariat are working much more on the coordination of plans of their activities with the work of rayon party committees.

I dare to believe that the efforts we have made have had a positive impact on the results of the work of Riga industrial enterprises for the first 9 months of this year. However, looking at the activities of the labor collectives more closely, we can clearly see the limit beyond which our efforts stop being somewhat efficient. I am referring to the still existing substantial faults in the economic mechanism, bureaucratism and major and minor "gaps" which

frequently develop between the interests of individual enterprises and ministries as sectorial management agencies. In such cases, the educational and organizing work of party committees appears to hit a sometimes insurmountable barrier. One of the primary tasks at the present stage in the reorganization is to surmount such barriers, to eliminate the major moral and material losses caused by the "inertia of calm" in the activities of the managers of some economic agencies, including central authorities, and their notorious departmentalism.

#### Eliminating the Power of Inertia

The goods produced by the Dzintars Cosmetics Association are uniformly popular in both our country and the countries of CEMA, in the United States, France, Italy and Yugoslavia. Here a united collective has developed, dedicated to its work, distinguished by its clearly manifested innovative nature. Of late, however, the mood of the Riga perfume makers has been dominated by uncertainty and concern for the future of the enterprise. Why? This is related to the closing down of the union-republic Ministry of Food Industry, which was the association's superior. Dzintars was put under the jurisdiction of the Gossagroprom. Obviously, the interests of the perfume makers are considered by this respected department as alien, which immediately affected planning: Dzintars lost more than one half the amount of funds allocated for imports. This primarily applied to raw material resources, volatile oils in particular, which are not produced domestically. It is true that our own raw material base must be used in full and that we must stop importing items which our industry could and should produce. However, no laboratory can produce any kind of coconut extract. Yet without it the perfume makers cannot achieve high-quality goods or maintain the competitiveness of their products on the world marketplace. Furthermore, we should not ignore the fact that the lack of necessary raw materials lowers the economic indicators of enterprise activities, which directly influences the size of production development and material incentive funds. The plans for the social development of the labor collective are being threatened.

Thinking about such facts inevitably leads to a conclusion of the urgency of a radical reorganization of the ways and means of economic management and a radical economic reform, all the elements of which would be interrelated. The mass of a union or a union-republic ministry has such a power of inertia once activated, that even the most progressive decisions, unless supported by measures of social and economic influence, sometimes prove to be unable to break traditions and behavioral stereotypes of the personnel of the headquarters of a given sector, developed over many years. Furthermore, the nature of interrelationships which develop between an enterprise and a ministry, in which one side has essentially all the rights and the other nothing but responsibilities, allows the members of the sectorial management authorities to drag matters wherever efficiency is needed and to avoid taking necessary steps when these are the only ones which could influence collective efforts.

Let me cite what I take as another convincing example. The Sarkana Zvaygzne Plant in Riga is managed by the Ministry of Automotive Industry. It specializes in the production of motor scooters. Arguments as to whether or

not consumers need such scooters have been settled and demand for the products of this enterprise is increasing with every passing year. Recently, the Riga-30 miniscooter was awarded a gold medal at the Plovdiv International Fair. However, the engine, which is the heart of Sarkana Zvaygzne scooter is obtained on a cooperative basis, for which reason the possibilities of the plant to improve it are quite limited. Yet the procuring enterprises undertook the production of such engines as early as the 1950s and, so far, no substantial changes to it have been made. Efforts to urge suppliers to redesign or significantly to modernize the engine have yielded no results. At this point, accidentally a solution presented itself which, we believe, may have seemed extraordinary only on the surface.

At the beginning of this year, being abroad on business, members of the plant's personnel discovered that an Austrian company was having serious trouble with marketing motors whose technical specifications suited the Riga plant perfectly. Preliminary discussions showed that the company was quite interested in signing a contract for cooperated procurements and the economic situation was making the putative partners agreeable to charging a good price. An important feature in this case was that such cooperation was possible on a cashless basis. On his return, P. Maksimov, the director of Sarkana Zvaygzne, reported on the results of the meetings to the foreign relations administration of the Ministry of Automotive Industry and submitted suggestions on signing a contract. What happened? The ministry suggested a compromise: it was decided that several sample motors would be procured and only then would a contract be discussed. Naturally, cooperation between countries should be looked at closely. However, would a deal profitable to us not sink in the swamp of various coordinations, as had frequently been the case in the past? The decree which was recently passed by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers on measures for radically improving foreign economic activities provides straight answers to questions similar to those of interest to the Sarkana Zvaygzne collective. Nonetheless, so far they have been unable to shake up the inertia of the ministry personnel.

What is most urgently needed today is a dialogue and efficient feedback in relations between enterprises and regions, on the one hand, and ministries, on the other. The organization of such an interested dialogue and efficient feedback among participants becomes possible only through the bold and consistent use of economic management methods. Total cost accounting and the principles of self-government, logically related to it, do not tolerate by their very nature any bureaucratic red tape or erosion of personal responsibility. Only this can lead to greater coordination among the interest of society, labor collectives and individual workers. The close interconnection among such interests is a reliable material foundation for strengthening unity between words and actions. It is difficult not to notice that today it is virtually impossible to increase efforts in the struggle for high production quality if side-by-side with such efforts irresponsibility blossoms.

For example, the Radiotekhnika Production Association numbers more than 500 procuring enterprises, essentially operating under the Ministry of Instrument Making and Automation Equipment. Their poor work is blamed on our association. During the first half of this year alone the incoming control

organized by the association rejected nearly 50 percent of condensers, switches and other complementing items which, despite their small size are by no means insignificant parts of contemporary radios for home use. However, incoming control cannot be permanent. It has been estimated by Radiotekhnika specialists that control over all complementing items received by the enterprise would cost a tremendous amount, almost comparable to basic production outlays.

We believe that rejects can be reliably eliminated only by strengthening direct cost accounting relations among enterprises and establishing the type of order in which economic sanctions would inevitably hit waste makers. Ensuring real consumer diktat in the production area is possible, obviously, only when the enterprise is given the right to choose its own supplier and refuse the services of waste makers. For the time being, at Radiotekhnika as well, those who are in no hurry to meet stricter requirements concerning the quality of their own work continue to live quite well, for the careless worker can always wink at the poor work of an anonymous supplier.

It would be natural to ask about the role of the party gorkom in situations in which the objectives of an enterprise and those of its superior organization do not coincide and whether we have real possibilities of influencing the views of ministries one way or another? I must point out that such possibilities are very small. Naturally, whenever we come across manifestations of departmentalism and of a bureaucratic approach to the work, we try to express our attitude toward the open or concealed conflict between the "center" and the "territory," and unfailingly inform the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers of this fact, write to and telephone the ministry's personnel, and try to reach a compromise. However, as a rule the efficiency of our efforts is low, for the inertia of obsolete planning and management methods has a rare capacity for absorbing anything which violates its tranquillity and which vanishes without a trace.

Could anything be easier than for the Pirmays Mays Shoe-Manufacturing Association to find a common language with the republic's ministries of light industry and trade, the more so since, in this case, the party gorkom supports the position taken by the shoe manufacturers! But no. Quarter after quarter the Ministry of Light Industry is continuing to increase the planned assignments of the association without changing its supply of materials. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Trade is arbitrarily limiting the enterprise's aspiration to expand the shipment of its products outside the republic in which, according to statistical data, no more and no less than four pairs of shoes are produced every year per republic resident. What kind of economic expediency could one find in such ministerial activities? No such expediency may be found but the obvious desire is clear to continue to increase the "republic's gross output" in shoe manufacturing and sales. I can anticipate the objection: Why not apply measures of party influence against the heads of the ministry, for they are members of the city party organization? We are and shall continue to apply such measures. The problem, however, should not be simplified by virtue of the simple fact that, as a close study of most

managerial resolutions dictated by "departmental egotism" indicate, the official who has initiated this decision is obeying the direct order of his superior, who is not a member of our organization.

An entirely different situation develops whenever the efforts of the labor collective and ministry share the same objective. Let us take as an example the VEF Production Association. In enhancing the activities of party committees to provide political leadership in the implementation of the Quality-90 program, we did not accidentally turn to the experience of one of the leading Riga industrial enterprises within the system of the Ministry of Communications Industry. The output of this enterprise--telephone sets, radio receivers, synchronous transmission equipment and general-purpose devices used in major sports competitions--enjoys great popularity throughout the country. The public at large feels that transmission equipment has assumed a leading position in the association in terms of volume and quality. The VEF is participating in the development of the uniform national transmission system based on electronic ATS. The solution of this problem is one of the priority areas of the comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress of CEMA members; the VEF has been entrusted with the position of leading the development organizations in this area. It was entrusted with this position because the transmission equipment produced by the Riga people has assumed a solid place in the world market. Understandably, not one of these facts can be considered outside the role which the sectorial headquarters plays in the development of the enterprise and in upgrading the reputation of its output.

The collective of this enterprise, its party organization and Hero of Socialist Labor O. Lenev, the association's general director, worked hard to earn its present worldwide reputation. In order to undertake the production of essentially new models of ATS, the enterprise had to abandon the design of so-called coordinate stations, which had taken decades to develop, the technology which had been developed within that time, and relations of cooperation with other enterprises. This demanded the ability to risk and to mobilize the creative potential of hundreds and thousands of people. Logically, the major changes met with the opposition of those who firmly clung to a comfortable and easy past.

In this difficult situation, daringly and unhesitatingly the association's party committee supported the reorganization of the production process and the application of the best features which had been developed as a result of the scientific and technical thinking of workers and engineers at the enterprise. However, the power of the party committee was substantially enhanced with the specific practical support which the ministry gave the VEF collective. Obviously, this "double traction" could reach any heights.

Yes, people who have truly accepted the political and moral requirements of the present can accomplish a great deal. Turning to the experience of enterprises such as the Riga Manufaktura Association, where some 30 million rubles were invested in the reconstruction, which was done with the forces of the enterprise itself, the Latvbytkhim Association, where, together with scientists, rotary-conveyer lines are being persistently applied, which have doubled labor productivity in mass operations, and the Alfa, Riga Apgerbs and Riga Associations, where initial but very successful steps are being taken in

setting up initiative quality groups, we can see before anything else the increased political activeness of the individuals and the strengthened unity between their convictions and actions. This combination yields remarkable results. It will become even more important the more decisively and systematically we fight bureaucratism, indifference and departmental ambitions which can drain the life's blood of any live creativity of the masses and which hinder the full manifestation of the best features of collective labor, organically present in our society.

#### Practical Action Is the Main Criterion

The accountability and election conference held by one of the party groups of the assembly shop at the Riga Electric Bolts Plant was such that immediately, as though like on an x-ray photograph, the main trends and contradictions in the enterprise's life appeared. A closer look would also show common quite typical features of today's social reality. In listening to the speeches of the participants in the meeting, again and again I kept remembering the idea expressed in the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress, to the effect that there is no vanguard role of the party member "in general," like some kind of awarded privilege. This role can be achieved only through specific actions and steps, and through a purposeful line of behavior. Could anything today be more important to the primary organizations than to assert not formally but actually their function as the political nucleus of the labor collective? To us as well, the personnel of the city party committee, the specific political force of the committee is the reflection of the effectiveness and efficiency of the work of the primary party units.

The present situation at the Riga Electric Bolts Plant is not simple. Some 10 years ago, this plant was among the leaders; step by step, however, it kept surrendering its positions. Surreptitiously a large number of problems arose which are today literally drowning the collective. Whatever one may consider, the financial status of the enterprise, its technical equipment, development of its social infrastructure or work with cadres, everywhere one comes across a chain of errors, blunders and irresponsibilities to which an end was not put on time. It is obvious that the quality of output, which is the result of all production factors without exception, worsened drastically. An indicative fact was mentioned at the meeting: the modern automated assembly line of Hungarian manufacturing, installed in the shop, "rejected" as defective half of the bolts. Yet these items had been reported as part of the real output! Where had the enterprise's party members been, and how was their party-mindedness manifested?

No, they cannot be accused of having been totally silent and indifferent. For example, V. Yakubantss, party group organizer of one of the shop's party groups and head of an assembly line brigade, collected from the workers some 20 practical suggestions aimed at solving urgent problems. He submitted them to the plant's management. Failing to receive an answer after all reasonable delay for an answer had passed, he went to the see the management where he was given a boastful bureaucratic rebuke, of the type mentioned by M.S. Gorbachev at his meeting with the party aktiv of Krasnodar Kray. The purpose of the rebuke was basic: mind your own business and we will settle matters here without your help.

By virtue of the logic of the reorganization, today the people heading (in this case the word heading should have been put in quotes) the plant found themselves among those whose time had passed. However, those who remained here, who had given to the enterprise years and years of work, who cared for its future, had they done everything possible to take their collectives out of a situation of chronic work breakdowns? I am confident that by no means had they done everything possible. Yes, many people had learned to raise sharply the crucial problems which had appeared in the life of the collective. However, far fewer party members had mastered the difficult science of persistently putting to use in daily practical work what had been said or recorded in resolutions. We too, party workers, must persistently learn to display vigilance, efficiency and principle-mindedness in the study of conflicting situations which frequently arise in the course of the reorganization.

Let me share an observation which, although not particularly new, earmarks one of our essential reserves in the struggle for upgrading production quality. In my view, we must enhance much more energetically than in the past the social prestige of conscientious and highly productive and innovative work. We must surmount the encrustations of formalism which in many enterprises have thickly overlayed the system of material and moral incentives.

A formalistic moral assessment of shop labor is only a shadow of an incentive which, as we know, should have a well-sharpened edge. The name of a frontranker, hastily mentioned in a long list of names, would hardly encourage him to engage in further labor efforts. Furthermore, if the "quality" bonus amounts to 8 to 10 rubles, this requirement too will find its proper position among such priorities. What is the worth of evasive stipulations in our plants, which allow "legal rejects?" In the 1930s, when it became necessary for the country drastically to increase its volumes of output, we were generous in encouraging the participants in the Stakhanovite movement and we displayed a great deal of thoughts and creativity in this matter. I am convinced that the same must be done today in the case of the true masters of their work, in the case of people to whom the quality of output has become an object of professional and patriotic pride.

Combining respect for skill, which is an age-old feeling among the people, with the requirements of modern production, where individual contributions to end results of joint labor are frequently standardized and averaged by a number of factors, is no easy task. However, this must be done if we wish actually to involve the toiling masses into the struggle for high production quality. Naturally, no ready-made prescriptions exist in this case. Without exception, however, in all cases we must find and promote people who can assume full responsibility for assignments and who can lead the collective. Otherwise inevitably there will be situations in which the just demands of consumers will clash against bureaucratic indifference the bearers of which are always ready and able skillfully to cite a variety of "objective" reasons which allegedly justify poor work. Let me cite as an example a few letters which are worth quoting, for these two positions are expressed in them as fully as possible.

"On 27 August 1985," writes A. Sorokina, a resident of Moscow Oblast, in a letter to the Radiotekhnika Production Association, "our family bought a stereo set produced by your plant: a tape recorder, a record player, a receiver and an amplifier. We were immeasurably happy. The voices of our favorite singers sounded so pure and impeccable. Our joy was short-lived, however, no more than 2 months. The tape recorder broke down and so did the amplifier and receiver. All of them were faulty..."

An answer signed by Yu. Mayors, interim chief of the Orbita Technical Center, in charge of the guaranteed servicing of the goods produced by the association, was received within the stipulated deadline. However, it was such that it would have been better for that letter not to be sent at all: "In answer to your letter, please forgive the poor quality of the equipment produced by us. Enclosed is the document 'on the procedure for requesting the replacement of sets of block radio equipment.'"

Understandably, this was followed by a second letter, this time addressed to the party gorkom: "The answer I received from Comrade Yu.K. Mayors shook me up with its irresponsibility and belief in total impunity. Let excuses for fraud (I am not afraid to use this word) remain on his conscience and the conscience of the plant. He, in all likelihood, is a party member and enterprise manager. The fact that such people must have a clear conscience and must be principle-minded and responsible is something they themselves must know...."

The proper conclusions from this "letter story" were drawn; A. Sorokina's just claims were satisfied and Yu. Mayors was punished for his display of formalism. However, this most clearly reminds us of the fact that in today's struggle for quality a great deal depends on the moral component, on the views of every participant involved in this struggle. The struggle for quality is a struggle against entirely specific manifestations and for the systematic elimination of anything which holds back industrial progress. This is no easy matter, for which reason we need so greatly today for each party organization and every party member to display principle-mindedness and combativeness; that is why their readiness and ability systematically to defend the line of the 27th CPSU Congress for a radical reorganization of party work, which determines, above all, the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development, is so highly rated.

Yes, today's reality is incompatible with the old tolerance concerning problems of quality and persistently calls for perfecting the work style. For example, starting with 1 January 1987, extradepartmental quality control--state acceptance--will be introduced at 1,500 enterprises throughout the country. This includes 25 plants, combines and associations, most of which are located in Riga. I admit that we are waiting for the beginning of this undertaking with great concern for the initial experiments in this area have put the enterprises where they took place in an extremely difficult situation: the volume of output in the first of the 3 months during which the experiment took place, dropped by 70 percent. The necessary steps aimed at preventing a repetition of this breakdown were taken. The breakup which will inevitably be triggered by this act in the life of the labor collectives will be painful but necessary. State acceptance will enable us accurately to determine the level

of the varied and sometimes hard to assess work aimed at improving production quality and will determine the level of readiness of labor collectives and of economic managements to function under essentially new conditions.

In this connection we must, albeit briefly, mention a key problem of the reorganization--cadres. Many party committees and the majority of leading personnel in the city are improving their ways and means of work and seeking more efficient ways of achieving socioeconomic acceleration. Nevertheless, we must self-critically acknowledge that the situation with leading cadres in the city is today quite alarming. We are clearly short of initiative-minded people, daring, competent, displaying firm ideological convictions. So far many economic managers are trying to exclude from their daily practices not only any sensible risk but anything which could trigger even the slightest displeasure of "their own" technologists, suppliers and marketing officials and oppose attempts on the part of the rightful authorities to control the quality of output.

The study of the reasons for the situation has proved that the roots of the shortage of cadres are found in the formalism of our work with the promotion reserve and the clearly inadequate attention paid to medium-level personnel and young specialists, and to their professional growth. For example, today about 60 percent of shop chiefs at industrial enterprises in the city have no training as engineers, and only 10 percent are under 30.

The city party committee has earmarked a number of steps aimed at upgrading the efficiency of work with medium-level cadres. In order to solve priority cadre problems, a group of reservists, consisting of promising young engineers, has been set up by the Latvian State University. Their training program includes practicing under the most experienced and skilled economic managers in the city.

The experience in training middle-level cadres on the basis of the principle of electivity, acquired by the Kommutator Association, is being actively applied, with the support of the party gorkom and raykoms, at the VEF and Dzintars associations and Avtoelektropribor Plant.

Our plans call for other steps as well, the implementation of which will help us to renovate the corps of leading cadres and put enterprise and scientific research establishment management in the hands of people who can assume responsibility for the outcome of the assignments of the 12th 5-Year Plan.

The CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Results of Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's Trip to Krasnodar and Stavropol Krays" notes that today the local party authorities and the primary party organizations must make a tremendous effort to coordinate the political line with the realities of life and to implement in their entirety the party's directives. The persistent effort of the party organizations in our city for the implementation of the essential stipulations of the CPSU Central Committee are already yielding results. In the first 9 months of this year the volume of industrial output increased by 4.4 percent; labor productivity rose by 4.8 percent, which is substantially higher than the average annual growth rates of indicators achieved during the last 5-year period. As everywhere else in the country, the awareness is growing among the

labor collectives of the Latvian capital that we must not rest on the initial positive results of the reorganization and that we must go forth faster and more daringly. The solution of one of the key problems of economic intensification--upgrading production quality--is entirely consistent with this most important requirement.

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In My Opinion... Letters to the Editors

ON THE STATUS OF EDUCATIONAL SCIENTIFIC PRODUCTION COMPLEXES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 86 (signed to press 28 Oct 86) p 50

[Letter to the editors by K. Sudakov, USSR Academy of Medical Sciences corresponding member, professor]

[Text] In my opinion, the time has come to lay on a firm legal and financial base the activities of training-scientific production complexes, which have appeared in a number of areas in recent years. These complexes are true nuclei of scientific and technical progress. They are a new form of training highly skilled cadres and in important means of rapidly putting to practical use the results of scientific research. Their significance is confirmed in the CPSU Central Committee draft "Basic Directions in the Reorganization of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education in the Country."

The experience of the association between the Scientific Research Institute of Normal Physiology imeni P.K. Anokhin of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences with the respective department of the First Moscow Medical Institute imeni I.M. Sechenov confirms the national importance of this matter.

The association was created in 1974, initially as a complex consisting of the scientific research institute and the department, by order of the USSR minister of health. Subsequently, this complex was assigned an industrial enterprise--the Khromatron Plant in Moscow. The results of such cooperation were unquestionable. Above all, the quality of teaching improved. The department personnel, graduate and undergraduate students, as members of the scientific circle, were given the opportunity to study the latest scientific ideas and laboratory instruments. A great deal is being done to upgrade the skill of department teachers at Moscow and peripheral VUZs. Training-method aids are being developed. Cooperation with the Khromatron Plant is yielding great results in improving the health of the working people.

However, despite the national importance of associations of the scientific research institute-department-industrial enterprise type, the main problem of their organizational, legal and financial status remains unsolved. As a rule, they survive on the enthusiasm of the directors of scientific research institutes, who assume (most frequently on a voluntary basis) the difficult obligation of heading the subunits. However, the moment such an enthusiastic person leaves the association breaks down. Even the existing official

contracts for scientific cooperation among institutions within such an association cannot preserve it should the institute's director lose interest in it.

That is why we must solve the problem of the legal and financial streamlining of the activities of such associations. I believe that each one of them should be headed by a base organization, in this case the scientific research institute, the school or the production enterprise. The director of the head organization would provide scientific and organizational-methodical leadership. His salary would be that of a person holding two jobs. A special deputy would be appointed as member of the personnel of the leading organization, be in charge of administrative and organizational management. The establishment specialists who are part of the association would work overtime at their main jobs. Their labor would be paid on the basis of economic contracts, from a special fund set up by the head organization. The association, in accordance with its assignments, would have a 5-year term. Should practical experience prove that it is successfully carrying out governmental assignments, this term could be extended by another 5 years.

It would be desirable for regulations on training and scientific production complexes to be approved faster by the related departments.

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## CONCENTRATION OF MOTOR VEHICLE TRANSPORTATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 86 (signed to press 28 Oct 86) pp 51-52

[Letter to the editors by S. Panov, deputy general director, Glavmosavtotrans NPO, doctor of technical sciences, professor]

[Text] In my opinion, the classification of motor vehicle transportation systems into departmental and general, as is currently the case, reflects the shortcomings in the system of organizing and planning the work of freight transport, which developed over the years, and which is now hindering the legitimate process of concentration of motor vehicle transportation operations.

The tempestuous development of the motor vehicle industry and the needs for transportation services felt by economic sectors, cities and regions, the increased requirements of the huge construction projects and the shortened harvest deadlines, have raised on a national scale, as one of the most important problems, that of upgrading the efficiency of managing centralized distribution and planned transportation resources. The objective need today is drastically to upgrade the level of concentration of motor vehicle transportation (which, let us remember, accounts for 80 percent of the freight haulage in the country). In the mid-1960s, starting with Moscow (Glavmosavtotrans) and, subsequently, in other parts of the country, a general motor vehicle transportation system (ATOP) was set up, for the tasks we listed proved to be beyond the scope of departmental motor vehicle transportation (VAT). Until the end of the 1960s the "coexistence" between general and departmental motor vehicle transportation systems raised no particular problems, for their intersecting areas were small and had no major influence on the efficiency of the motor vehicle transportation system as a whole. By the start of the 1970s, however, the problem of their interaction began to be aggravated.

The general motor vehicle transportation system has obvious advantages over the departmental: its hauling costs are lower by a factor of 1.4 and its productivity is higher by a factor of 1.8 (in ton/kilometers). One may have thought that in terms of priority and efficiency everything was clear. In fact, however, departmental motor vehicle transportation is growing and strengthening, narrowing the range of the general transportation system. This is occurring despite the fact that most directives issued in recent years

clearly call for giving priority to the development of general transportation. However, its share has been declining throughout the country.

It is noteworthy that departmental motor vehicle transportation is greatly scattered among small enterprises. In Moscow, for example, there are 800 such enterprises, each with less than 10 motor vehicle vehicles. Such dispersal of transportation facilities lowers the overall level of sectorial management and hinders fuel and energy conservation and conversion to industrial methods in motor vehicle transportation management.

What is actually taking place is the intensified penetration of departmental motor vehicle transportation into the area of ATOP activities. A study conducted in Moscow indicated that nearly 70 percent of hauling by departmental vehicles involves the same services as those provided by the general transportation system. With minor differences, the same situation has developed elsewhere in the country. Enterprises and organizations which have their own vehicles also widely use the services of Glavmosavtotrans, which leads to the duplication and inefficient mixing of ATOP and VAT activities.

As we know, the purpose of departmental transportation is to meet strictly internal requirements, and engage in so-called technological hauling. However, by increasing their own fleet with every passing year, the respective enterprises have greatly exceeded the number of motor vehicles they need for such requirements and have begun to service projects which are serviced on a centralized basis by ATOP, hauling bricks, dirt and reinforced concrete. In Moscow alone, in addition to ATOP haulage, they have transported some 60 million tons of such freight. What could happen tomorrow if the uncontrolled growth of departmental motor vehicle transportation is not reduced? Furthermore, let us point out that departmental trucks are already traveling beyond the city limits. Today the VAT is already providing interurban hauling, sometimes over distances of up to 500 kilometers.

In our view, the problem of assigning areas of activity and number of vehicles to ATOP and VAT requires a qualitatively new approach, which would take into consideration the entire complexity of interrelationships and factors. We believe that it would be expedient to compare their activities on a comprehensive basis rather than individual transportation services, and to analyze the sum total of transportation capabilities and determine the parameters of the services provided in guaranteed freight hauling.

Efforts to adopt such an approach were made in the formulation of the long-term general plan for the comprehensive development of freight trucking in Moscow. The Glavmosavtotrans NPO developed a method for determining the efficient level of concentration of motor vehicle transportation as a base in formulating a long term strategy and a specific plan of measures for the reorganization of motor vehicle transportation in the capital and the elimination of existing disproportions in ATOP and VAT development.

This method calls for a comprehensive approach to determining the optimal level of concentration for the city as a whole, rather than for individual ministries or enterprises. It takes into consideration the interacting among all the elements of the urban transportation system, the overall limitations

of manpower and material resources and capital investments, the existence of open areas in the city, available parking facilities, etc. Particular attention has been paid to transportation services whose concentration within the general transportation system would be inexpedient. They include services not directly related to freight hauling for the national economy and the population (driver training, competitions, tests, research and geological surveys); those of special social significance and which have stricter requirements concerning the preservation of the freight, intra-plant hauling and others.

Computations have indicated that about one half of the VAT motor vehicles should be retained by their departments, for excessive centralization is unacceptable for the transportation services they provide, and that different criteria must be applied in assessing the activities of the respective motor vehicle transportation enterprises. The number of vehicles which could be released as a result of the more efficient utilization of resources in the concentration and specialization of transportation services and which could be transferred to the ATOP was also determined.

The limited possibilities of interdepartmental concentration of motor vehicle transportation were also established: for example, in the Moscow area, the optimal number of dumptrucks of an motor transportation enterprise used in hauling construction materials should be 500 to 550 vehicles. Only large and well-equipped organizations of the ATOP type, with a powerful production-technical base and ability to forecast and plan for future hauling situations, could adapt a motor vehicle to haul a specific type of freight. Occasionally, even large departmental motor transportation enterprises are unprofitable. In Moscow, for example, losses from departmental lack of coordination among such enterprises, due to adverse territorial conditions (the distance that a truck must travel to be loaded may be up to 25-27 kilometers) account for about 20 million rubles annually.

Also substantiated was the possibility of developing, on the basis of existing VAT motor vehicle enterprises (their reorganization, specialization, efficient reassignment of customers and relocation of the fleet) of new powerful enterprises. All of this would not require any significant capital construction, the allocation of special areas and rolling stock or additional manpower. The concentration of said departmental hauling services and production capacities would make it possible in the next few years to close down in Moscow more than 600 inefficient motor vehicle enterprises and reduce the overall number of motor vehicles by 8,000, and release 9,000 drivers, thus saving nearly 70 million rubles.

There is apprehension, however, that such steps would not be properly implemented and that matters would be reduced to closing down a dozen small departmental motor vehicle facilities and transferring 100 worn-out vehicles to ATOP.

The USSR Gosplan and GAI must, we believe, assume a clear statesmanlike view: first, in controlling the process of allocating motor vehicles to the various departments; second, in the registration and supervision of the vehicles.

We believe that these problems must be solved on a new methodological basis, one which will not pit ATOP against VAT (we occasionally hear "extreme claims" to the effect that transportation should be either general or departmental) and will enable us to find efficient and expedient areas of utilization of both VAT and ATOP. In such a case the motor vehicle transportation systems would be classified not on the basis of departmental affiliation but the efficiency with which they will respond to the needs of consumers of transportation services and provide guaranteed transportation services.

The most relevant in the area of public use motor vehicle transportation is, above all, the search for new and more flexible forms of work with customers, broadening the set of transportation services and radically changing indicators of enterprise activities. Improving the work of public use transportation will lead to the elimination of a number of small (and, possibly, some large) departmental facilities.

Furthermore, departmental transportation faces the task of more clearly defining its range of services which would ensure the greatest economic efficiency.

The reorientation of objectives in providing transportation services and direct interest in the quality of services demand new approaches. The concentration and steady expansion of the set of transportation services are unavoidable, objective and natural processes for which one must be prepared and with which one must deal on a daily basis.

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## DISCUSSIONS AND DEBATES

### PRODUCTION FORCES AND RELATIONS AND THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 86 (signed to press 28 Oct 86) pp 53-63

[Article by V. Cherkovets, dean of the Economics Department, Moscow State University imeni M.V. Lomonosov, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] The historical documents of the 27th CPSU Congress stipulate that, having reached a certain level of quality in the development of the first phase of the communist system, we have now assumed the position for a new and powerful running start by socialist society and its comprehensive and systematic progress on the way of its development into full communism.

Planning presumes anticipation by society and its control center, extending to the entire range of foreseeable socioeconomic changes. Essentially, perfecting the social and economic system is a special historical form of its natural development, which appears under the conditions of the nationwide ownership of the means of production, in which, as a social entity, society assumes control over space and time dynamics of the entire production method and its corresponding superstructure. Such dynamics are a specific implementation of Engels' predictions, according to which "people will be familiar ahead of time with changes in the social system... caused by changed relations, and will want such changes before they have been imposed upon them regardless of their awareness and desire" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 20, p 639).

#### On the Dialectics of the Production Process and Production Relations Under Socialism

The most important part of the planned and comprehensive advancement of socialism is the development of socialist production relations and upgrading the level of their maturity. This applies to the basic component of the process.

The essential methodological stipulations concerning the key role of perfecting socialist production relations in terms of solving all other problems of accelerating the socioeconomic development of society and the nature of the interaction between production forces and production relations were formulated at the 27th Party Congress. "The necessary prerequisites for the acceleration of the socioeconomic progress of society," the CPSU program

stipulates, "include the steady advancement of production relations, maintaining their stable correlation with dynamically developing production forces, and the timely identification and solution of nonantagonistic contradictions which appear between them." The concept of the "dialectically conflicting interaction between production forces and production relations as the main motor force in the forward development of society" was made the focal point of attention in political economy and all social sciences and in the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Journal KOMMUNIST."

Let us emphasize, above all, that these formulas are based on the fundamental principle of historical materialism, which reflects the effect of the law of consistency between production relations and the level and nature of development of production forces. As we know, M.S. Gorbachev's address at the December 1984 all-union practical science conference and, particularly, the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Congress subjected to sharp and expanded criticism the view according to which the consistency between production relations and the nature of production forces is ensured almost "automatically." Such criticism was extremely necessary and timely, for the idea of the need for a purposeful advancement of production relations with the development of production forces which, we must say, had been formulated and even substantiated by a number of scientific institutions, university departments and individual sciences, ignored the other sciences and, most importantly, the planning authorities. Although developments in this area had been systematically included, starting with 1973, in the comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress and its socioeconomic consequences--the most important forecasting document which had been drafted for each of the last three 5-year periods--they were actually not taken into consideration. In this case the dogmatic concept that socialist production relations offer the broadest possible scope for the boundless development of production forces and the technical and organizational advancement of production, as though bypassing the conscious, knowledgeable and planning and systematically practical activities of the people, played a major role. This meant that the development of production relations, to the extent to which it was acknowledged, was considered, essentially, as being uncontrolled, as had been the case of systems preceding socialism.

The documents of the 27th Congress provide substantial grounds for decisively eliminating another quite popular interpretation of the interaction between production forces and production relations in socialist society: an equally simplistic concept which considered this interaction but with an obvious exaggeration of the possibilities of socialist society to change production relations on a planned basis. This concept was methodologically rooted in the negation (in one way or another) of the material nature of the economic base, the economic laws and the law of consistency between production relations and the nature and level of development of production forces. Several variants could be distinguished within such theories. All of them, albeit to a different degree, proceeded from the specific features of the socialist economic system which, allegedly, allowed the "structuring" of production relations through the creative power of the national economic plan (either totally ignoring the level and nature of production forces and the extent of the actual technical and economic socialization of labor and production, or in accordance not with actual existing production forces but of forecasts of

their future condition), thus steadily ensuring the faster development of production relations compared with production forces. In this manner, the latter were considered as chronically lagging behind the socioeconomic aspect. Such a "theoretical" substantiation of voluntarism ignores the fact that the ways and aspects of production relations are determined by the specific condition of production forces and separate "form" from "content," thus depriving economic policy of its realistic conceptual foundations.

The "theory" of production relations steadily catching up with production forces is groundless and dangerous in the sense that it leads to a premature formulation of problems related to changing the economic system regardless of real possibilities. Would it not be more accurate to say that the advertised "superaccelerated" pace of advance toward the higher phase of communism, which played such a negative role in our development and is now condemned by our party, the trend toward the theoretical "cleansing" of socialist production relations from all of its structural elements which were not communist in their content, and efforts to belittle the significance of distribution according to labor and directly to reject or to underestimate real commodity-monetary relations and the law of value were all, to a significant extent, the price paid for the criticized methodological approach?

The gradual conversion from the first to the second phase of communism, as all precommunist history, is taking place on the basis of the objective law of consistency between production relations and the nature and level of development of production forces. In terms of this transition, the great discovery made by Marx retains its entire significance. According to it, "Mankind sets itself only the problems which it can solve, for a close consideration always proves that the problem itself appears only when material conditions for its solution either already exist or, at least, are about to appear" (op cit., vol 13, p 7).

In this context the meaningful political and economic "decoding" of the programmatic formula of the stable consistency between production relations and dynamically developing production forces, deserves particular attention. This formula is an overall concept, the nature of which, we believe, can be brought to light with the help of the following concepts.

First, as a result of the dynamic and revolutionary development of production forces, nonantagonistic contradictions steadily appear between them and production relations. Second, these contradictions are solved through the implementation of practical steps to ensure the advancement of production relations and the substitution of new for obsolete forms. Third, the advancement of production relations must be constant. We are referring to the fact that the socioeconomic center and its authorities must not only identify promptly the ripening contradictions and formulate programs and plans for their resolution but also, without delay, implement such plans, thus preventing a clash between the opposite sides of the interaction. Fourth, it is precisely thanks to the steady advancement of production relations that a stability is achieved in their consistency with the existing level of development of production forces.

This indicates the great role of the subjective factor in ensuring such consistency of the role of practical activities in national economic management. Also obvious here is the unevenly growing significance of the scientific standard of economic decisions and, consequently, of the science of economics itself in managing the country's socioeconomic development.

#### Long Term and Current Problems of Perfecting the System of Socialist Production Relations

The problem of the dialectics of development of socialist society at the new historical stage, singled out as one of the "most important problems of philosophy and scientific communism" in the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Journal KOMMUNIST," has its specific political and economic aspect as well. It applies to the present status of the system of production relations within real socialism and its long-term development and objectives of its advancement.

It was the party's realistic approach to the assessment of this status, which did not allow for any anticipation, that determined progress toward achieving the comprehensive maturity and full development of said system as the prime historical task. According to the CPSU Central Committee political report to the congress and the party program, as a result of the accelerated socioeconomic development of Soviet society, this society must reach a qualitatively new stage whose economy will be characterized by comprehensively developed production forces, mature production relations and organized economic mechanism.

Obviously, we should consider as a general law of the transition to a new qualitative status of socialist society a trend in its development in the course of which relations and laws expressing its most profound features, typical of the new society, will begin to be implemented gradually more fully and will become clearer. It is along this way that the universally significant features of the socioeconomic system, applicable to all members of the global socialist community, will begin to crystallize in an increasingly "purer" and "purposeful" manner.

Such is the first qualitative stage of the long-range future. Naturally, the distance which separates us from it is not limited to the period of the 12th 5-Year Plan or even the next 15-year period until the year 2000. It is a question of reaching a level at which, on the basis of the new technical restructuring of the production process the conversion to a comprehensive intensive economic development will be entirely completed or, in the language of political economy, a conversion to "intensive-type of expanded reproduction of the capital-conserving type," in the course of which not only will productivity increase steadily but a drastic overall conservation of labor and materials per unit of truly useful effect will be achieved.

The qualitative advancement of production relations at the present stage is oriented toward the more distant stage in the establishment of the communist system--the gradual conversion to its higher phase. In solving current problems related to the all-round advancement of socialism, we must not forget

the communist future and the problem of strengthening the general communist principles internally inherent in socialism.

In the context of the stipulations of the 27th Party Congress, we cannot consider as substantive concepts which were popular quite recently, according to which the nature of the type of thinking is to conceive of the task of the communist future not as a matter for the present but only for the future, and that society will solve it only after socialism has been thoroughly developed. Some authors, hiding behind loudly advertised appeals for "realism and sobriety," even promoted the idea of an indefinitely long stay at the socialist stage, actually thus reviving the concept of socialism as a production method distinct from communism.

We believe that a definite end was put on such views with M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the October 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, in which this concept was clearly qualified as erroneous, and the with the programmatic party thesis of the general communist principles of socialism and the identical nature of their promotion and of progress made by socialist society toward communism.

Today this concept assumes tremendous methodological, theoretical and practical-political significance. Why?

Above all because, as it interprets the current stage and prospects of building communism, it enables us to bring down ideas of such building from the clouds to real grounds. The general communist production relations, which operate under socialism and which directly express the basic features of the ownership of means of production by the whole people, the planned nature of all public production, the basic economic law and a number of other production and reproduction laws, including the law of the universality of directly socialized labor, constitute, in their totality, the "nucleus," the basic grounds of the entire system of socialist economic relations.

This is the "nucleus" which, first of all, determines the main specific feature of socialism compared with capitalism and the real historical advantages of our economic system; secondly, it is the base of the advancement of socialism toward the higher communist phase; thirdly, it is the social content of all relations retained, although transformed, from all preceding means of production; finally, it is the emphasized fact of the historical affiliation of socialism with the single communist production method or, in other words, the fact clearly established in the CPSU program that "there is no sharp boundary" separating socialism from communism. The fact that the documents of the 27th Party Congress singled out the general communist features of socialism erects a reliable barrier on the way to the dissemination of two methodologically interrelated concepts: the concept of "marketplace socialism" and the already mentioned concept of socialism as an independent production method.

Frequent objections to dividing general communist relations into such groups have been formulated in our political economic publications and in works of economists from the socialist countries, who considered this an anticipation and neglect of the realities of the present. Such objections cannot be

considered substantive, for general communist production relations and economic laws are considered on the basis of the specific historical level of maturity they reach under conditions of real socialism. Naturally, it is presumed that they have not reached the highest maturity which will be inherent in them only under the conditions of full communism. In the socialist phase, general communist relations are specific and "immature" in a triple sense. First, their direct social nature is not entirely developed, as formulated in the programmatic stipulation that "in the higher phase of the communist system the direct social nature of labor and production will be asserted in full." Second, they are organically combined with specific socialist relations and are manifested in the latter (above all in relations of distribution according to labor). Third, they are largely averaged by commodity-monetary forms related to cost accounting, cooperative production and individual labor efforts.

The further development of general communist relations and, on this basis, the growth of socialism into communism, constitute a process which is by no means smooth, a process not only of quantitative but also qualitative changes which become apparent with the forthcoming radical technical restructuring of the material and technical base of production and the revolutionary transformation of production forces, as earmarked by the party.

Therefore, it is as though we can see two aspects of a single strategic line in the area of production relations. The first ends with the emergence of socialist society on the level of a new qualitative status as the result of the implementation of the course of acceleration of socioeconomic development. The other aspect of the historical future expresses the process and sets the pace of the gradual progress toward communism. Essentially it blends with the first at the historical segment of the all-round advancement of socialism within the framework of the strategy of acceleration but is also continued further, being directly aimed at achieving our end objective.

The distinction between these two aspects in the development of socialism is necessary not only because of the different times at which the new qualitative status of socialist society and full communism are reached. The essence of the strategy of acceleration is the most efficient, not to say sooner, implementation of the radical advantages and all possibilities of socialism, of its economic base above all. This presumes the more specific and differentiated consideration of the nature of the advancement of socialist production relations in the immediate future, in the course of the all-round intensification of public production during the 12th 5-year period and the period until the year 2000.

The system of socialist production relations and the economic laws inherent in it developed in our country with the victory of socialism toward the end of the 1930s. The entry into the present stage meant a certain enhancement in the maturity of the existing elements of this system rather than the appearance of new production relations. And, naturally, by no means was this an entry into the higher phase of communism. Consequently, the concept of acceleration, to the extent to which it includes within it the question of perfecting socialist production relations, means not a "substitution" of their profound foundations but, conversely, their possibly fuller "enactment" in

economic practices and development of the wealth of their content. This requires, above all, a "reconstruction," a radical restructuring of the sum total of the external forms of the dynamics of production relations and the various superstructural forms interacting with them. It is a question above all of radical changes in the "subsystem" of the economic mechanism which, in the aspect in which it had developed in the 1970s and beginning of 1980s, found itself in a state of acute contradiction with the need for a drastic turn to a primarily intensive type of expanded socialist reproduction.

The creation of an organized economic mechanism means, above all, making it consistent with the very foundations, with the basic economic laws of socialism. Only an economic mechanism entirely consistent in terms of nature and structure with the socialist economic system as a whole, built "on its image and semblance," having become an organized part of the social system, can efficiently implement the task of acceleration.

Since the restructuring of the management system should take place "to the extent" of socialist production relations, within the strict limits of scientific socialism, there can be no question of a return to an "atomistic" market economy or to any forms of "private-collective ownership." The objective historical necessity of this was confirmed by the law of development of production forces and the tremendous growth of production socialization under capitalism, particularly on the level of monopoly and state-monopoly capitalism, and the impossibility of solving antagonistic contradictions within this social system on the basis of its own production relations. The advantages of the socialist economic system have been confirmed through historical and practical experience and our tremendous accomplishments. The class meaning of the restructuring under way was particularly emphasized by M.S. Gorbachev in his speech at the conference of the Khabarovsk Kray Party Organization Aktiv. "...Answers to questions raised by reality," said he, "should be sought by us not beyond socialism but within the framework of our system, bringing to light the potential of the planned economy, socialist democracy, culture and the human factor, relying on the live creativity of the people."

The need for restructuring is based not on the fact that socialist production relations, which are built on the basis of social and, above all, nationwide, ownership of means of production, cannot be grounds for the creation of an efficient economic management. The essential line of our activities, the 27th CPSU Congress noted, "is, relying on the inviolable principle of democratic centralism, to strengthen and perfect centralized planned management of economy, which is the great gain and radical advantage of socialism. It is obvious that in this matter as well we have 'not justified' nor shall we ever justify the hopes of bourgeois ideologues concerning our retreat from this fundamental principle."

Consequently, the essence of the matter is the need radically to perfect the form of utilization of this Leninist principle. Let us draw the attention of the reader to the fact that this principle includes not one but two foundations. Economically, it represents the dialectical "unity of opposites"--centralism in national economic management and independence of basic production units.

## Trends in the Radical Reform of the Management System

The most important problem in the development of a radical reform of the economic mechanism, as we noted, is the creation and energetic implementation of an integral concept of a management and economic governance system. This is a difficult project. The country has gained tremendous experience in planned management of the national economy and the development practices of the other socialist countries also provide a great deal of data. All of this must be summed up and critically interpreted. We must get rid of ossified concepts and take into consideration the results of the broad economic experiment taking place in our country.

The idea that conversion to an integral economic management system means simply the quantitative (gross!) growth and extension of the experiment to the entire national economy is simplistic. We must not ignore the qualitative aspect related to the effect of the integrality, unlike the "mathematical addition," of the effects of its components. The single nationwide and statewide economic management, an economic management "involving the entire society" (Lenin) with its specific system of management authorities, methods, approaches and incentives, cannot be fully "tested" not only on the level of enterprises and associations but even sectors, groups of sectors and even intersectorial complexes and large areas. Hence the degree of responsibility which arises in the case of nationwide experimentation and the possible large-scale negative consequences and national economic losses. The latter are not excluded in the least, for not everything is clear at the start of the experiment. It is above all this that determines the special role of the scientific concept of the overall management system.

From the viewpoint of political economy, the integrality of the economic mechanism is ensured above all through the full reflection within it of the entire system of production relations. It is in this connection that the task arises of comprehensively solving this problem and eliminating one-sided approaches to it. In the light of the current situation, eliminating the underestimating (mostly in the practice of planned economic management but also largely in the science of economics) of aspects of production relations, such as distribution according to labor, relative economic independence of enterprises and commodity-monetary relations, cooperative ownership in its various aspects in the production and nonproduction areas and private auxiliary plots, is quite urgent. Let us reemphasize that it is not in the least a question of the need to revise the logic of the structure of socialist production relations by promoting said elements as initial and fundamental (although distribution according to labor is indeed part of them). As a whole, the problem, we believe, is, on the basis of general communist principles, to rationalize the utilization of these elements and enhance their role in economic management. It is only by organically combining them with general communist relations and converting the latter into direct economic activities on all levels (particularly in basic production units) that the desired increase in economic management efficiency can be achieved.

The idea of close integration within the economic mechanism of general communist and specific socialist relations, on the one hand, and direct and indirect social relations, i.e., commodity-monetary relations, on the other,

permeates the set of basic trends in improving the economic mechanism as an overall system, extensively characterized in the documents of the 27th Party Congress and the June 1986 Central Committee Plenum.

The first trend is upgrading the level and strengthening the centralized management of the economy while, at the same time, limiting the interference of the center in the current affairs of cost accounting units and clearly defining the range of tasks on which its attention must be concentrated, such as: a. Implementation of the strategic objectives of socioeconomic policy as a whole; b. Ensuring optimal rates of socioeconomic development; c. Observance of the planned balancing and proportionality of the national economy and the priority of national interests.

Therefore, strengthening planning does not mean the "extensive" expansion of its coverage of economic life or the increased number of mandatory indicators which regulate the quality and efficiency of planned economic management. This is the most essential aspect in the development of the first, the initial form of the way national ownership is realized through relations of national economic planning.

The other form of realization of national ownership will be developed as well, on the level of the basic production unit. This development aspect is largely (although not exclusively) related to the more efficient utilization of commodity-monetary relations in ensuring autonomous economic management and creating conditions for the fuller manifestation of the role of the socialist enterprise or association as a commodity producer.

Hence the second trend, which is one of significantly expanding the range of economic autonomy of basic production units, expressed in their conversion to true cost accounting.

The question of true, of real cost accounting appeared on the eve of the 1965 reform. At that time it was quite thoroughly analyzed as a matter of "real" and "full" cost accounting (as opposed to "formal" and "incomplete" cost accounting). Despite some theoretical differences, matters nevertheless progressed: the concept of true cost accounting was interpreted as organically related to the utilization of commodity-monetary relations, and the profitability category was interpreted as a specific cost accounting criterion of the efficiency of the socialist enterprise. Cost accounting was defined as a specific qualitative condition of the unity between direct social and commodity-monetary relations.

We believe that today it is particularly important to bring to light clearly and specifically in the political-economic sense the problem of an internal contradiction inherent in socialist cost accounting--the practical creation of efficient forms of progress--and the solution of the second, which is the key task of the radical reform of the management system. This contradiction, in its most general aspect, is as follows: outside the planned organization of public production, "cost accounting" would turn into an ordinary "commercial accounting." However, no true cost accounting is possible without relying on commodity-monetary relations and the law of value.

Theory and specific economic practice have further established that inherent in cost accounting are two essential features: self-recovery and profit (profitability). On the basis of the output it has created and marketed, the enterprise covers (recovers), first of all its production costs and, secondly, shows a profit.

Political economy distinguishes between two types of outlays. The first is the socially necessary outlays of labor and materials, which constitute the total cost of the commodity. It is a question of the transferred value of the means of production used (machines, equipment, raw materials), to which we add the new cost of labor and which consists of two parts--the cost of the necessary product and the cost of the added product (the total is  $c + v + m$ ). Within the limit of said outlays (current outlays) the profit category (as well as that of production costs) is not to be found. Such outlays are characteristic of an enterprise simply as a commodity producer. They are also the starting point for planned price setting, for the price is nothing other than the monetary expression of production cost and the price level is what defines the size of the total production cost of the commodity.

The second type of outlays, which derives from the first, characterizes the status of the enterprise not only as a commodity producer but also as a specific subject of cost accounting relations. The production costs of an enterprise operating on the basis of real cost accounting consists, above all, of the production cost of output ( $c + v$ ) in which  $v$  is not outlays of labor at the given enterprise but enterprise outlays for wages. The profit is the difference between earnings from goods sold and production costs. Consequently, in the true cost accounting system profit is not an outlay but an affect obtained over and above current outlays. In other words, it is in addition to what the enterprise had at the start and what it has recovered, thus ensuring its self-recovery.

Strictly speaking, self-recovery is a cost accounting category. It should not be confused with the problem of recovery, of replacing outlays in general, for this could take place also not as a result of the activities of enterprises and sectors where such outlays took place. The same differentiation should be applied to the problem of self-recovery of so-called one-time and long-term outlays and capital investments. The recovery of the latter is related to the time needed for their recovery through added profits. However, there self-recovery, strictly speaking, occurs only in the case of situations in which capital outlays are based on cost accounting.

The party documents of the post-April period drastically updated the political-economic analysis of problems of self-financing. This is the third main feature of true cost accounting. In scientific publications and forecasts of perfecting production relations, the formulation of the problem of self-financing of cost accounting units was infrequently found; however, textbooks in socialist political economy and works by most authors, unfortunately, ignored them. Yet self-financing is based on self-recovery and profitability, organically supplementing them, the moment the concept of true cost accounting is systematically extended to the reproduction process. To put it frankly, conditions for true cost accounting were not provided in the 1970s. Nor were they provided with the familiar steps taken in 1979. The

situation is radically changing today, when the party has set the problem of extensively applying in industry and the national economy as a whole the experience of AvtoVAZ and the Sumy Machine Building NPO imeni M.V. Frunze.

Closely combined, the two trends we have considered reflect the unity between the two extremes of democratic centralism and are of key significance in shaping an integral system of control and economic management. All other trends are of a production nature. It was precisely thus that the question was raised at the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and its was precisely this that was the subject of special attention in the Central Committee resolution "On the Journal KOMMUNIST." The 12th 5-Year Plan is consistent precisely with the task of strengthening centralized economic management, paralleled with the growth of the autonomy of basic production units. "The plan," the plenum noted, "calls for the concentration of forces and means on the key trends in economic development and changes in the structural and investment policy in the interest of public production intensification. The plan calls for upgrading economic efficiency, active resource conservation, intensified impact of economic levers and incentives, use of long-term standards and application of new control and economic management methods."

The formula we cited defines the third area in perfecting the economic mechanism (which resolves the dialectical contradiction between the previous two): the application of economic management methods on all national economic levels. This requirement is directly based on the conversion of enterprises and associations to true cost accounting with all of its essential features and the efficient utilization of commodity-monetary relations. The economic methods are those which have a stimulating effect on the interest of enterprises and workers and upgrade their material incentive and responsibility. As we know, they can include prices, long-term economic standards, interest rates on loans, taxes, payments to the budget from profits, various penalties, etc. The plan itself, if it is equipped with such levers, acts as the main economic method in socialist economic management.

In order to ensure the development of this area, we must restructure the entire system of material and technical procurements. In particular, we must organize wholesale trade in means of production, radically change the organization and methods of work of financial and credit agencies and thoroughly perfect planned price setting.

The sum total of steps in this direction should be aimed at eliminating the "outlay nature" of the economic mechanism. What does this mean? In our view, in some cases this concept is understood quite simplistically. Some commentators reach a point of absurdity by formulating the idea of some kind of "non-outlay" production efficiency, linking the latter only to the extent to which a given social need can be satisfied, or else try totally to separate price from production outlays and make it exclusively dependent on the correlation between supply and demand or on the extent of "usefulness" of the product (which, incidentally, so far no one has been able and, we believe, no one will ever be able, to assess). Ignoring outlays of labor and materials in determining production efficiency and price setting is, in our view, inadmissible. The real task is for the economic mechanism to stimulate a

reduction of said outlays through economic methods. In terms of prices, for example, this means that they should not be oriented toward actual individual outlays, for in this case they would "cover" all outlays and take into consideration neither the consumer value (and, therefore, the quality of the goods) nor the correlation between output and need. Prices based on socially necessary outlays (which, incidentally, both noted factors take into consideration) are a powerful incentive for lowering individual production costs. Consequently, if there are, as the saying goes, "outlays" and outlays the economic mechanism cannot simply ignore this problem.

The fourth area is the application of contemporary production management structures, taking into consideration the development of production concentration, specialization, cooperation, intersectorial national economic and territorial-production regional complexes and intersectorial scientific and technical centers. This applies to the increasing socialization of production, manifested in the development of technological-production relations. In accordance with the party's resolutions, intersectorial production and industrial-trade associations and new authorities will be set up to manage the developing national economic intersectorial complexes.

The fifth area predetermines the optimal correlation between sectorial and territorial management and the comprehensive nature of the development of regions and union republics. It is a question of a special shortcut to the implementation of democratic centralism, in which centralism, which appears as a sectorial approach to the management of public production, is correlated both with its opposite (in the dialectical meaning), which is the territorial approach, which represents the "opposite" regional interests. This contradiction can be solved by organizing the integral development of regions and union republics, to which the party has directed the attention of republic and local soviet authorities, and emphasizing more the territorial concept in the work of the USSR Gosplan and sectorial ministries.

The final and sixth trend is related to upgrading the role of labor collectives in production management, ensuring its all-round democratization and developing socialist economic self-management. Essentially important here from the theoretical viewpoint are, first of all, the congress' formulation of self-government within the framework of the state ownership of means of production rather than its opposite, which restores the Leninist concept of self-government; second, the close tie between the development of socialist production self-government and the enhancement of the activities of labor collectives and regions, the conversion to true cost accounting and the advancement of the forms of realization of state ownership on the level of the basic production unit and the territorial aspect we noted.

Even a brief political economic sketch of the basic areas of the restructuring makes its obvious that they are aimed at the creation of effective forms of dynamics and the solution of specific contradictions within the socialist economy, not those which are unnecessary, meaningless and temporary, related merely to faults in economic management, but internal ones, which are inherent in socialism. A consideration of the essence of these areas will make it clear that all of them, from different sides, are called

upon to ensure an optimizing of the correlation between centralism and autonomy on all levels of planned management.

In conclusion, let us reemphasize that this is the central internal problem of perfecting the economic mechanism. Its efficient solution alone can ensure a drastic acceleration of socioeconomic progress and conversion to a primarily intensive type of socialist expanded reproduction.

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## EVERYTHING WITHIN MAN -- EVERYTHING FOR MAN

### HIGHER EDUCATION: STATUS AND REORGANIZATION PROSPECTS

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[Article G. Yagodin, USSR minister of higher and secondary specialized education, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member; this article includes excerpts of the report submitted by the author at the All-Union Conference of Heads of Social Science Departments]

[Text] The implementation of the CPSU strategic course of acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development has required profound changes in all areas of social practice, including the higher school, for it is precisely the higher school that helps to ensure the cadre prerequisites for combining the socialist economic management system with the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. In expanding the efforts to implement the resolutions of the 27th Party Congress, the collectives of the higher schools are structuring their entire activities in a new style, in accordance with the stipulations of the CPSU Central Committee political report, the new draft of the party program and the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000. They are checking them against achievements and earmarking the immediate and long-term tasks.

Professors, teachers and students and all higher school personnel welcomed with an open heart M.S. Gorbachev's words spoken from the rostrum of the All-Union Conference of Heads of Social Science Departments: "The time demands initiative and creativity in all realms of life. It has formulated tasks, unprecedented in terms of novelty and scale, which must be implemented within the shortest possible historical time."

The CPSU Central Committee draft "Basic Directions in the Reorganization of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education in the Country" is the scientific management for action and for a radical improvement of the entire training and retraining of specialists and further development of VUZ science. This document of essential importance equips us with a realistic and comprehensive approach to central problems of building the Soviet higher school at the present crucial stage in the country's life.

The party's policy in the area of cultural building and science gave Soviet higher schools the possibility of reaching levels which bring us closer to the

full satisfaction of the needs of the country for specialists. The prime attention paid to the solution of this problem is related to historical reasons and, for a number of decades, determined the need to concentrate efforts above all on expanding the scale of higher education. Whereas between 1961 and 1965 the average annual VUZ graduation class was 346,000 people, by the 11th 5-year period it had already reached 847,000. Whereas the employed population in the USSR increased by 55 percent since 1960, the number of specialists with higher education among those employed quadrupled, exceeding 14.5 million people by the start of 1986. The training of highly skilled cadres for material production and science and for areas in the nonproduction sphere which determine the standard and the way of life of the Soviet people and their culture and degree of education increased at a faster pace.

Today 894 higher education institutions in the country are training 5.1 million students; more than half a million teachers and scientific associates are engaged in educational research activities. Tremendous cultural and substantial material values are concentrated in these establishments. However, it would be wrong to say that the level of higher education in the country is entirely consistent with the task of the accelerated development of Soviet society. Substantial shortcomings in VUZ activities were exposed at the 27th Party Congress. The main among them is the fact that the increased graduation of specialists in recent years has not been paralleled by a necessary increase in the quality of their training. A major lagging was found in the material base of higher schools. The need for significant improvements in the utilization of scientific and technical cadres became apparent.

Finally, the scientific output of higher schools has been entirely insufficient. Although VUZs account for more than 35 percent of the country's scientific-educational cadres, including about one half of all doctors of sciences, research and development in VUZs account for less than 10 percent of the funds allocated by the state for the development of science as a whole. Is it amazing that it is much more difficult for higher educational institutions to ensure the practical application of their developments, than academic and sectorial organizations?

To a large extent such shortcomings are caused by the poor coordination between the development of higher education and other economic sectors and the predominance of the extensive approach to satisfying the needs of the country for cadres. The familiar underestimating of the importance of higher schools in solving the problems of the scientific and technical revolution and the fact that past successes concealed growing difficulties also played a certain role. Greatly responsible for this situation is the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education. In the recent past, its activities were dominated by bureaucratic management methods which pushed the "diseases" inside the "organism," and substituted the drafting of plans for measures and other papers for practical solutions to arising problems. The result was a contradiction between the substantially increased scope of higher education and the clear lagging in the growth of its economic and social returns and between impressive quantitative and qualitative indicators of specialist training which could not longer satisfy contemporary requirements.

The interpretation and elimination of this contradiction was started at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the CPSU Central Committee conference on Problems of Scientific and Technical Progress. A search was undertaken for ways and means leading to radical improvements in higher education by all VUZs and their party organizations in the country, in accordance with the strategy for the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. The local party authorities, scientists and specialists in all economic sectors and members of the public actively joined in these efforts organized by the CPSU Central Committee. The result was the CPSU Central Committee draft "Basic Directions in the Reorganization of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education in the Country." The broad discussion of this document (involving more than 12.5 million people, including 890,000 professors, teachers, scientific associates and VUZ students and graduate students) once again proved the democratic nature of our society and the positive tradition of practical exchange of views between the country's political leadership and the working people. More than 200,000 suggestions and remarks were submitted in the course of the discussions, which enabled us not only to refine the formulation of the document but also to earmark specific activities on the level of the implementation of the reorganization.

The reorganization must be such as to contribute to the integration of higher schools with production and scientific facilities. In his address at the 27th Party Congress, M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, emphasized that "relations between higher and secondary specialized schools and economic sectors must be restructured; their reciprocal interest in upgrading the standard of cadre training and retraining and radically improving the use of cadres in production must be intensified." An efficient organizational-economic mechanism for the interaction between the higher school and economic sectors must be set up as a result of the reorganization, consistent with the needs and conditions of socialist economic management, based on intensive methods and accelerated scientific and technical progress.

The main objective of the reconstruction is drastically to upgrade the quality of training of specialist cadres. Today's students must be armed with the most advanced knowledge, firm and comprehensive practical skills and habits needed by the reconstructed national economy. The VUZs must graduate specialists with high political awareness and developed economic thinking, creative, initiative-minded and with a feeling for socialist enterprise.

It became clear as early as the 1960s that substantial improvements in the level of higher education can be achieved only by training cadres with broad specialization. However, departmental trends brought about a broadening of the nomenclature of VUZ subjects. As a result, this no longer met the requirements of the real system of division of social labor and became a hindrance in the development of the new trends of science and technology. Efforts to compensate for the shortcomings of unnecessarily narrow specialization through additional amounts of learning led to overburdening the students with mandatory classes. This was followed by a drop in exigency toward the students. Formalism and percentage-mania became widespread.

That is why the document on the reorganization of the higher schools calls for a renovation in the structure of VUZ training aimed at high-level professional

mobility of VUZ graduates and their faster adaptation to changing production conditions. To this effect, the decision was made to reduce the number of subjects and convert to the training of cadres on the basis of major scientific and technical areas with a common theoretical base. The main problem, however, is to develop a new type of thinking in specialists, of a natural scientific and economic nature, engineering-technical and ecological, based on an integral, a dialectical and materialistic understanding of the laws governing the development of nature and society, the trends of the scientific and technical revolution and contemporary economic progress, and ways of combining the latest achievements of science and technology with the principles of socialist economic management. This is a way of thinking aimed not only at acquiring knowledge but also at the reorganization of the world and at enabling our society to rise to a new qualitative condition.

In turn, this means that the orientation toward cadres with general training does not exclude but demands even more urgently that we take the training and education process closer to the needs and conditions of industrial practices. The first step has already been taken. Now universities and leading higher education institutions will have the right to assign 15 percent of the total amount of classes required by the curriculums to teaching subjects, areas of knowledge and topics reflecting both the specific requirements of individual consumers of VUZ output as well as the latest achievements of science, technology, culture and production.

Upgrading the flexibility of the training process would enable us, among others, to provide differentiated training of the specialists in accordance with the features of their future professional activities. The need for this is being urgently felt in the science-intensive economic sectors and in scientific research and design-engineering organizations. The target training of students who have displayed a bent for scientific and technical creativity will be based on their requests. Such training will follow individual curriculums, including some with extended training. In each specific case VUZs and future employers will be able to determine jointly the suitable place where the final stage of training should take place--in the school, the shops of progressive enterprises or research laboratories and design bureaus.

Individualized and creative target training will "blow up" the traditional ways and means of the training process in VUZs and will demand of the educators a psychological and methodical reorganization. It is exceptionally important for the future specialists not only to master standardized activities but also to learn how daringly to undertake the solution of problems which they may face. Consequently, the center of gravity in the training process must shift from passive forms of training to active creative work. For that reason it was decided to reduce the amount of classroom lectures (traditional lecture courses above all) in favor of increasing laboratory practice, business games, and study of specific production situations. The importance of student independent work is increased and the students' responsibility for their projects becomes drastically upgraded. The creation of an atmosphere of high exigency toward the quality of student knowledge must contribute to eliminating the dependence between the contingent of students and the number of instructors. Henceforth we can decisively get rid of those who are unwilling to learn conscientiously. Competitiveness

among student youth in the mastery of knowledge must be developed. This will be assisted by the introduction of various additional moral and material incentives, including higher initial wages paid to young specialists who have completed their VUZ studies with excellent grades.

Comprehensive computerization will contribute to the intensification of the training process. Computers are a powerful booster of human possibilities. They introduce truly revolutionary changes into the content and nature of the professional training of specialists. The skill of properly handling the latest electronic and data processing facilities by every student will be ensured. Computers will assume a certain percentage of training functions previously assigned to teachers, training publications and other didactic means. To this purpose the creation of new automated training systems, the development of information-computer networks for collective use and the development of data banks and contemporary software for computer technology in higher education are being accelerated. During the 12th 5-year period the country's VUZs will be equipped with personal computers and terminals for approximately 130,000 students; interVUZ programming centers will be set up and a uniform set of higher-school algorithms and programs will be drawn up.

The new content and forms, ways and means of training will require a new approach to the methodical guidance of cadre training. Using the leading VUZs as a base, this will be achieved through the establishment of training-method associations by groups of subjects. Their purpose will be comprehensively to contribute to the steady advancement of the system of cadre training, training plans, curriculums, textbooks and training aids and the enhancement of teaching skills. The updated content of education must be converted from a cyclical to a permanent process. Exchange of progressive experience in training and upbringing must be enhanced; coordination in the work of VUZs and departments teaching the same subjects must be increased and they must be directed toward reaching the highest world standard of specialists' training.

The reorganization document calls for profound changes in all VUZ sectorial groups: agricultural, medical, pedagogical, cultural and artistic. The greatest number of changes will take place in the area of updating engineering and technical training. This is natural, for the engineer is the main personality in scientific and technical progress. That is why the measures stipulated in the reorganization assign a leading position to the creation of training and education premises for the training of technical specialists of a new type, enhancing the reputation and prestige of engineering and the faster training of cadres in promising scientific and technical areas.

At the same time, we must expose to the latest scientific and technical achievements the huge mass of engineers and all specialists currently employed in the national economy. This will be the purpose of the reorganization of the system for upgrading cadre skills and their retraining. Its essence is to convert from periodical (and, in practice, only sporadic) training of specialists to their continuing post-graduation training through systematic self-education and on-the-job study and regular training on a full-time basis in specialized intersectorial and sectorial training centers. Post-graduate training results must be reflected in qualification certificates and considered in the jobs of cadres and their labor organization and wages.

A firm link with advanced scientific and technical thinking is the most important factor in the development of higher education. This link must continue to be strengthened by broadening and intensifying VUZ research and development. Suffice it to say that by the end of the century they must be increased by at least a factor of 2-2.5.

The heart of the matter, however, is not in the least the mechanical or extensive growth. We must use incomparably more than in the past the real advantages of Soviet higher schools, above all their multidisciplinary nature, in solving comprehensive national economic problems which require interdisciplinary research and the creative cooperation among scientists in various areas. Equally urgent is the task of radically reviewing the existing structure of VUZ science. Today uncoordinated applied work predominates in it although it is only basic research and comprehensive development, which include solid engineering, design and experimental production training that can result in the development of a solid theoretical background and provide a solution to the major intersectorial national economic task of ensuring the practical utilization of scientific results. The disproportions which arise will be corrected through the redistribution of labor, financial and material resources and their concentration on the final stage of the "research-development-application" cycle.

The scientific-production facilities of higher schools will be substantially strengthened in order to ensure the engineering implementation of scientific ideas and their accelerated practical use. The economic results obtained on this basis will provide new impetus to basic and practical research. Some of the funds earned by enterprises from the use of scientific and technical innovations suggested by the VUZs will be used in their development.

Success in the reorganization of the higher schools greatly depends on perfecting the entire mechanism of management of scientific and technical progress. It is time to eliminate all kinds of obstructions on the way to the practical implementation of the creative possibilities of VUZ science. In our view, we should abandon earlier steps which limited the combination of jobs by economic specialists who would like to teach in VUZs and which actually excluded professors and teachers from taking second jobs in industry. Metaphorically speaking, this led to an "avitaminosis:" the higher schools were separated from their "nutritive environment"--national economic practice which is steadily enriching the content, forms and methods of cadre training with the help of fresh facts and the latest tasks and problems with which life outside the schools is full.

Let us note that a considerable percentage of scientific research institutes have become an obstruction on the path to new scientific and technical ideas in production. Yet it is precisely the sectorial scientific research institutes that determine most frequently the fate of the creative achievements of VUZs and academic institutions, which by no means always have the necessary design and experimental-production facilities. Unfortunately, the following situation frequently prevails: either the VUZ losses authorship rights and the development goes to industry under the label of a sectorial research institute or else its recognition and application encounter obstacles difficult to surmount. Such an abnormal situation has been long criticized by

the central press. The harm it causes not only to science but also to perfecting cadre training is obvious.

Scientific work on a contemporary level as well as the training of first rate specialists are inconceivable without significantly strengthening and radically updating the material and technical facilities of VUZs. In order to offer advanced scientific ideas and technical solutions in practical work and train cadres of initiators of scientific and technical progress, the higher school must be not only fully equipped with modern facilities but also be ahead rather than behind industry in their level.

The development of material and technical facilities for higher schools must be faster compared to the technical reconstruction of the national economy. To this effect, in accordance with the program for the reorganization of the higher school, a tremendous amount of work must be completed in the next 15 years: training-laboratory buildings of VUZs, totaling approximately 18 million square meters, must be constructed; the cycle of reequipping the training process with facilities must be reduced by a factor of 4-5; new major projects for shared use must be developed, such as interVUZ centers for servicing scientific research, enterprises for the manufacturing of instruments and technical training and specialized production facilities for the manufacturing of training devices. At the same time, the social infrastructure of the higher school must be reorganized. Just meeting the needs of VUZs for dormitories requires building premises which can house 650,000 undergraduate and graduate students. Furthermore, the construction of housing for the faculty will be significantly increased and so will that of enterprises for public catering, prophylactic-treatment institutions and cultural and sports facilities.

The implementation of such an extensive program calls for radically changing the attitude toward the needs of higher schools, centrally and locally. Ministries, departments, local soviet and economic agencies and labor collectives must take up the reorganization of higher education as their personal project, for this directly determines the implementation of the party's and people's constructive plans for the end of the 21st century.

The urgent party principle of preserving the unity between words and actions mandates to us not only to implement at a fast pace the earmarked steps for the comprehensive development of the higher schools but also to increase our strictness concerning the quality of the work and to organize reliable and comprehensive control over its condition. In this light, the VUZ state inspection system has been significantly reorganized. It is aimed at the thorough study of the actual level of specialist training and strengthening discipline in the organization of the training and education process. We are solving the problem of upgrading the role of state examination commissions, as a kind of technical control of higher schools, the purpose of which is to accept their "output" on a knowledgeable and responsible basis and properly to represent the interest of the employers of the alumni. Regular certification of higher educational institutions concerning the level of the training and research processes and ensuring the availability of scientific teaching cadres and material and technical facilities are on the agenda.

The higher school defines not only the professional but also the ideological-political, the moral aspect of the specialists. It has a tremendous impact on the communist education of the workers, on all Soviet people.

The initial steps in the implementation of the planned changes have convincingly proved that the center of gravity in educational and mass-political work in the higher school must shift toward ideological support of the reorganization itself. Priority has been given to the most difficult problem of educating the educators, educating all cadres in higher education, ranging from teachers to the leading personnel of the administrative apparatus. Both the successes and difficulties of the initial stage in the reorganization have brought to light the existence of a lagging in the awareness of a certain segment of VUZ workers behind the requirements of the time and the support shown by some of them of obsolete stereotypes and their fear of the new. The extensive discussion of the CPSU Central Committee draft on the reorganization of the higher school helped to change the situation and freshen the air. However, there are no grounds for complacency. Problems of reorganization face particularly sharply the administrative apparatus of the higher school itself, starting with the USSR Ministry of Education. That is why the collegium and the party committee of the ministry have increased their efforts to improve the qualitative structure of the personnel. The daily contacts between the apparatus and the VUZ collectives are strengthening. This is particularly important under the conditions of the expanded autonomy of higher educational institutions and the strengthening of the democratic principles in the organization of their work.

The requirements for VUZ teachers will become stricter than ever before. They must act both as educators, scientists and method workers. Under the new conditions, they must be not only highly educated and have a broad culture and great creative potential but also the ability to draw to themselves, to lead the young people and to awaken in them an interested attitude toward the work, civic-mindedness and professionalism. The ideological and theoretical standards of the faculty will largely determine the levels which we shall reach in the realm of higher education.

The labor organization and wages of teachers will be improved in accordance with the reconstruction program and their moral and material incentives will be strengthened. Post-graduate studies and doctoral work will be developed further; the long-term practical training of teaching cadres at progressive enterprises will be developed further and steps have been earmarked to strengthen faculties of newly established or distant VUZs with highly skilled teachers. At the same time, the higher school is converting from a procedure for the periodical reappointment of the faculty to competitive replacement of all teaching positions every 5 years. This will deprive some inept educators and scientists of the right to open-end VUZ appointments, help them find jobs according to their capabilities and, unquestionably, tighten up all scientific and education workers. The party organizations in VUZs, together with the rectories, have the direct duty of ensuring the effective use of the newly introduced levers aimed at improving the qualitative structure of faculties and promoting in VUZ collectives an atmosphere of principle-mindedness, strict reciprocal exigency, comradely mutual aid and intolerance. Significant changes are scheduled to take place in student upbringing as well. It must be

firmly freed from red tape and formalism and meaningless far-fetched measures. Scope must be provided for youth initiative in the organization and conduct of mass political work and in organizing a healthy way of life and recreation. The VUZ Komsomol must make fuller use of the tremendous educational opportunities of student self-government and deal with school matters more and more constructively.

Today the task of raising specialists as worthy perpetuators of the best traditions of the Soviet intelligentsia has become particularly urgent, the more so since it is precisely faults in the general culture of our student youth that most frequently create grounds for all sorts of negative phenomena, from the penetration of false ideological trends in youth circles and attraction for surrogate forms of bourgeois-pseudo culture to a passive and even consumerist attitude toward life and a mentality of dependency.

The adoption by young people of the higher spiritual values of domestic and world culture not only develops an immunity to the "viruses" of petit bourgeois and philistine standards but also enhances the personal quality of the specialist, for the purpose of man is to create in all areas of labor not only in accordance with practical tasks but also according to the laws of beauty and the principles of lofty moral ideals.

The educating of specialists as true intellectuals of a socialist type is the responsible mission of any higher educational institution. Its successful implementation can be ensured only if the shaping of a communist awareness is in the center of all ideological and pedagogical activities.

The all-union conference was a major contribution to perfecting the system of communist upbringing of the future specialists.

These departments, which largely determine the political atmosphere of a higher educational institution, are particularly responsible to the party for the reorganization of the higher schools, for they are the ideological corps of our VUZs and the advance detachment of their party organizations, called upon to engage in purposeful efforts for the dissemination, explanation and study of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress. What makes their mission even greater is that the reorganization undertaken by the party throughout the country is the practical implementation of the theory of scientific communism at the present stage and the direct embodiment of the theoretical concepts of Marxism-Leninism.

Life itself has set the VUZ social scientist the historically significant task of reaching a new, a higher level of development of Marxist-Leninist theory and of the historical experience of the CPSU and its current revolutionary practice. The curriculums in social science subjects and, above all, the training and education process itself and all VUZ ideological life must be filled with the ideological wealth contained in the innovative concepts of the country's socioeconomic development, formulated by the party. The introduction of a state examination in Marxism-Leninism, which will provide a more extensive ideological-theoretical and sociopolitical certification of graduates than is the case presently, will also contribute to the overall mastery of revolutionary theory. A new generation of textbooks in the social

sciences must be created, fully consistent with the latest word of the party's creative thinking and contemporary method requirements. The results of the competitions for textbooks in philosophy, political economy and scientific communism are already being summed up. Their publication is planned for 1988. An open context for a VUZ textbook on CPSU history is contemplated.

The elimination of formalism and scholastic theorizing by social science departments, and a turn toward live Marxism-Leninism require profound changes not only in the content but also in the organization of the teaching process. Here the emphasis must be shifted to active methods, through the development in the students of an interest in theory and the need to "consult" with Marx and Lenin and make a profound study of party documents. Strengthening relations with natural science and special subjects is a major reserve in upgrading the quality of social science teaching. Fruitful experience in this connection has been acquired by Moscow State University, the MVDU imeni N.E. Bauman, the Moscow Steel and Alloys Institute, the Dnepropetrovsk Metallurgical, and Kharkov and Riga Polytechnical Institutes, the First Moscow and Donetsk Institutes, and many others.

The practice of organizing for last-year students of specialized courses in the philosophical problems of their special subject deserves serious attention and must be extensively disseminated. Their purpose is to develop a contemporary standard of thinking, the core, the nucleus of which is dialectical materialism, and the integral approach to the objects and phenomena of the developing world and the tasks of social practice. In such courses there should be neither amateurism nor confusing a basic philosophical content with specific methodological and methodical problems of the individual sciences; philosophy should not be replaced by general considerations concerning the natural sciences or the completion of philosophy with the help of purely instrumentally interpreted "logic." It is no secret that natural scientists, who mount "raids" on the humanitarian social problems, occasionally abuse their special terminology by imposing upon a qualitatively different area an inadequate interpretation. Imposing on the humanities systems of natural science categories in which phenomena and social life are not included leads to the vulgarized understanding of such phenomena and to a false way of thinking. Today no fully trained specialist in any field of professional activity can function without proper knowledge of philosophy.

In order to upgrade even further the level of teaching of the social sciences we must experiment more daringly; the departments must be granted greater freedom in their training and educational activities. Unnecessary supervision and regulation are harmful, for they block initiative, dampen the enthusiasm and lead unwillingness to search for methods by the departments.

Today the scientific activities of VUZ social science departments as well have become part of a profound restructuring. All too long we have tolerated obsolete diseases in the development of the social sciences, such as the alienation of many studies from problems of social reality, replacing theoretical interpretation of practical achievements with systems and debates on concept definition. The scientific life of a significant number of social science departments is suffering from sterility; in some cases teachers postpone work on some problems year after year and plan after plan, showing no

progress whatsoever. This provides nutritive grounds for the growth of feelings of parasitism and the conversion of scientific research into ossified artisanship. True creative participation in scientific research is the main prerequisite for the professional growth of the teacher.

Dogmatism caused serious harm to the development of scientific research. In particular, in the case of many works in socialist political economy it led to a separation of the study of production relations from real specific historical conditions governing their development, the living dialectics of production forces and the contemporary scientific and technical revolution. Scientific works produced by some authors asserted a speculative, a frozen image of an invariable essence of socialist production relations and provided a simplistic interpretation of the problem of their correlation with the level of development with contemporary production forces. This created the illusion of automatic reproduction of the advantages of socialism and belittled the role of purposeful scientific organizational work. The best medicine for dogmatic manifestations, as we know, is scientific debates which take place on a truly democratic basis and a competent and creative approach. For the time being they are in short supply.

Of late the participation of VUZ social scientists in solving specific political and economically significant problems has increased. In particular, this applies to the formulation of plans for the social development of production collectives. The teaching of the subject "Applied Sociology," based on philosophical and economic training, provided a new impetus to the development of the corresponding research and will contribute to strengthening enterprise sociological services and the implementation of tasks related to the social guidance of cadres.

Frequently joint practical science projects link various social science departments within VUZs. For example, at the Ufa Aviation Institute this applies to problems of stabilizing labor collectives in areas under new industrial development; at the Sverdlovsk Institute of the National Economy, this applies to problems of improving the way of life and the work and recreation of women in heavy industry enterprises. With the help of its sociological laboratory the department of scientific communism at Simferopol University developed and applied a system for the efficient utilization of social production reserves at most city enterprises.

These, however, are merely the "harbingers" of the future "spring." For the time being, the potential of VUZ social sciences is still being poorly used. This situation must be decisively changed and the topic of studies must become a prime task formulated by the party concerning the development of an entire set of conceptual, sociopolitical, economic and moral-psychological problems of accelerated progress of the country and creative enrichment of the concept of acceleration.

The work style of VUZ administrations in guiding the social science departments needs substantial improvements. In this area control is frequently limited to counting the number of articles and monographs published without any whatsoever serious study of their depth and significance. The ministry must reorganize the work of the social science sections of the

Scientific and Technical Council and its problem commissions and enhance the organizing role of the Main Administration of Social Science Teaching of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education. The work of VUZs with the social science institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the academies of sciences of union republics and the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism and Academy of Social Sciences must be improved. The amount of studies based on requests of central economic departments and party and soviet authorities and on economic contracts with enterprises and organizations of sectorial ministries must be increased.

In implementing the reorganization we must drastically increase the exigency concerning the ideological and theoretical standard, scientific novelty and practical usefulness of publications dealing with the social sciences. We must reliably prevent the publication of second-rate works. We are grateful to the party's Central Committee for solving the problem of upgrading the status of social science journals in the higher schools and converting them into scientific-theoretical journals with a broad specialization and creating favorable conditions for their work and increasing the number of their issues. This largely enhances their role and responsibility as organizers of development in the area of the Marxist-Leninist theory, interpreting the broad reorganization earmarked with the strategy of acceleration, and the dissemination of progressive experience in teaching social sciences and in the communist education of the students.

Under contemporary conditions greater attention should be paid to upgrading the need of students and the development of their spiritual demands. We consider exceptionally interesting the experience in the training of specialists in the humanities acquired at Rostov University over a period of nearly 20 years. Whatever their field, the students study optionally for eight semesters a set of subjects dealing with the humanities and general culture. A specially organized department of the theory of culture, ethics, and aesthetics heads this project.

The reorganization and upgrading the work quality of social science departments are decisively influenced by the structure of cadres. Long practical experience has convinced us that it is only teachers with basic, i.e., specialized university training who can meet contemporary requirements in full. For example it is precisely this important principle, which largely defines the policy of the ministry in staffing the social science departments, that is violated in a number of educational institutions. In Uzbek VUZs, for example, nearly one half of teachers in the social sciences lack such training. VUZs in Kazakhstan and Kirghizia, where this percentage ranges from 35 to 46, leave even more to be desired in this respect. This situation is even worse at the USSR Ministry of Fishing (more than 84 percent) and the VUZs of the USSR Tsentrrosoyuz (over 64 percent). The problem of the proper combination of experienced with young cadres and the continuity of generations in social science departments also requires a radical solution.

The implementation of the CPSU Central Committee decree on further improving the system of upgrading the skill of social science cadres in VUZs brought about positive changes in the activities of the institutes for upgrading the skill of social science teachers. The share of the active forms of training

has been increased and the psychological-pedagogical training of teachers has improved somewhat. The practice of sociopolitical work by students, carried out with the help of the party authorities, is being developed. However, the institutes for perfecting the skill have still not become to a proper extent training-method centers for the summation of progressive experience. It is precisely here that the systematic updating of the content and forms of teaching the social sciences must be upgraded above all.

The report submitted by Ye.K. Ligachev included a sharp yet just criticism of USSR MinVUZ regarding procrastinators and spinners in departmental life. This is indeed our great difficulty which we shall decisively fight. Formalism in summing up the results of the sociological competition greatly harms the quality of VUZ work. Frequently we are concerned not with the essence of the matter but with points--totaling them up and confining this lively, complex and comprehensive matter to a stupid channel. The role of publicity and public opinion must be enhanced in the struggle against bureaucratism in these and other areas. Here as well the social organizations, the party organizations above all, must have their say.

The dynamic nature of our time, the confrontation between the two world systems and the proclamation of a "crusade" against socialism by the imperialist circles and their aspiration to discredit Marxism-Leninism in all possible ways give priority to the need for comprehensively strengthening the ideological education of the students. The social science departments have the task of comprehensively contributing to developing in every future specialist a clear class stance in assessing current events and thinking and acting in a new way, having profoundly mastered the strategy of acceleration and the party's foreign policy course.

The high political maturity of higher schools graduates is closely related to a profound knowledge of the history and experience of the international labor movement, the heroic past of our homeland and the establishment and development of a qualitatively new human community--the Soviet people. In recent years the feelings of patriotism and pride in one's country and in its outstanding progressive traditions and rich spiritual culture have increased in the broad public circles and student youth. We know a number of cases of selfless participation of students in the restoration and preservation of historical monuments. This spiritual thrust must be supported and strengthened. At the same time, we must not accept distortions of healthy moods and actions leaning toward nationalistic trends and efforts to idealize the past or else reverence for models of bourgeois "mass culture." Who if not social scientists should be "forward looking" spiritual tutors in this area!

The higher school workers face tasks of tremendous national significance. The main landmarks of their implementation have been defined. To dedicate all efforts to the great cause of reconstruction and acceleration is the duty of each one of us.

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Man of the New World: Concerns, Ideals, Values

WORK OF A LIFETIME

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 86 (signed to press 28 Oct 86) pp 76-81

[Article by Yu. Loshchits, member of the USSR Writers' Union]

[Text] The scientist is known by his books. This, however, does not apply exclusively to scientific books. Science and publicism....scientific knowledge and its popularization.... Could these two vocations become naturally combined in the work of a single person? This is not only possible but also desirable, essential and vitally necessary, particularly today, for the volume of scientific knowledge is growing uncontrollably and the advance of scientific and technical progress and the development of the humanities are so fast that we frequently succeed in considering only the results and by no means all of them at that and not the processes which lead to them. Virtually all knowledgeable people in the technical sciences or the humanities feel with increasing concern the incompleteness, the limited nature of his knowledge and the fact that scientific disciplines and areas outside the range of their immediate work or specialized area are clearly inaccessible to them. The old story of the "ivory tower," in which selected minds locked themselves, keeping the world outside, today needs an essential correction: all of the sudden, the "towers" have greatly increased and are now being made of much more practical material, such as concrete and glass. Before we know it, yet another "tower" will have appeared, a kind of scientific research institute to keep track of scientific research institutes.... This is no joke, for the more knowledge is acquired in the world the more noticeably man's cognitive capacity weakens and is exhausted. The simplest thing is to reconcile ourselves with the fact that we are facing an objective contradiction. However, many contradictions must be resolved one way or another.

Nevertheless, the possibility of popularization is clearly lagging behind the speed of science. It is lagging above all because the type of scientist who is able not only to "bury himself" into new problems but also to explain them to the world, to democratize the acquired knowledge, is extremely rare in our country. Someone may object, saying that demanding of a scientist the ability to make scientific accomplishments public is to demand the impossible. Such work should be allegedly carried out by popularizers and journalists, although they may not have mastered the scientific subject to the extent to which the scientist has. The results, therefore, is that we must reconcile ourselves to

the fact that knowledge will come to us indirectly, second-hand, through the efforts of the "servicing personnel" of science rather than its makers.

Whatever one may say, the scientist is the best person to make his own discovery known to the rest of the world, to describe something complex in simple and universally understandable terms without distorting it through oversimplification. We need this kind of scientist and we keep hoping to come across him in a popular journal, on television, in a pamphlet or a book published in a mass edition. Here are his combined features: he is so profoundly and thoroughly familiar with his subject and so much at ease in handling it that he can free it from special terminology and grant to all of us the freedom of understanding and joint involvement in a discovery.

Unquestionably, there have been and are such scientists. Think of Konstantine Tsiolkovskiy or Sergey Vavilov.... Furthermore, we can sum up our impressions as viewers and readers, gathered in recent years, at which point it would be natural to list among them the name of Academician Likhachev.

I have in front of me two book by Dmitriy Sergeyevich Likhachev, both of which were published in 1985 ("Proshloye--Budushchemu" [The Past Addressed to the Future]. Articles and essays. Nauka, Leningrad, 1985, 575 pp; "Pisma o Dobrom i Prekrasnom" [Letters on the Good and the Excellent]. Detskaya Literatura, Moscow, 1985, 207 pp). The former, which came out in the "Science. Outlook. Life." series, is an extensive collection of works written at different times and in different genres by this noted Soviet scientist, a recognized specialist both at home and abroad in ancient Russian literature and culture. "Proshloye--Budushchemu" contains the broadest possible array of the author's thoughts on the fate of the modern humanities, the methodological principles of knowledge, the organization of scientific labor and his own development as a student of the literature of ancient Rus, the distinguishing features and outstanding merits of this literature and the responsibility of the scientists and our entire public for the destinies of the age-old domestic culture and the preservation of its monuments. This includes recollections of student years, educational traditions in the family and first steps in the field of science. It also includes numerous portraits of other scientists--tutors, colleagues and representatives of various areas in the humanities. It also includes articles of recent decades and, finally, aphoristic "Thoughts on Science," which are like "marginal notes" without being in the least a marginal product of the thoughts of this scientist.

His "Letters on the Good and the Excellent" are addressed primarily to a different audience--secondary school seniors. However, this book could be read by younger students as well. It would also benefit every teacher in the humanities to read it (and, perhaps, reread it from time to time). In terms of genre as well this book is entirely different: "I chose to present my talks with the readers in the form of letters." Although unconventional, as the author admits, a tone of intimacy is clearly felt in this epistolar form.

Despite differences in their presentation, these two books are quite similar in terms of purpose and of the fact that in both we so frequently see a noted scientist as though outside his office. We see him in his various contacts with his contemporaries. We judge him not only by the results of scientific

work but also the realities which nurtured his work. Here the "main" and the "secondary" change places suddenly. This offers the readers the valuable possibility of finding themselves alone with the author. The invisible yet very sensitive "academic" barriers disappear thanks to the author's intimacy and informality. Unquestionably, this favorably predisposes the reader, who can always clearly sense the difference between the true democracy of an intellectual interlocutor and the fictitious "simplicity" of individuals who condescends to drop down from his scientific Olympus in search of popularity, which is considered valuable in today's society. Nowhere does D.S. Likhachev "simplify" his ideas even in his conversations with school students. The very same concepts, arguments and proofs are frequently found from one book to another. This is the result not of the poverty of the initial thought but a manifestation of its monolithic unity.

"The Russian North! I find it difficult to find words to express my admiration with this area and my reverence for it." At some point in the first quarter of the century, the acquaintanceship of the adolescent Dmitriy Likhachev with our North became the prime motivation of his entire future life as a scientist, citizen and patriot. The strong impression of something splendid which struck the adolescent would then be concealed for many years behind other emotions and discoveries. Sooner or later, however, it would reappear. It would interfere and would require a reinterpretation and perhaps would even help in determining the choice of a profession or a vocation.

"...The 2-week class trip played a tremendous role in shaping my concepts of Russia, folklore, wood architecture and the beauty of Russia's northern nature," D.S. Likhachev explains, immediately following this with a conclusion that "one should travel around one's native country as early and as frequently as possible."

"Travel!" is the title of one of the chapters in his "Letters." This appeal is backed by the advice of a person who has traveled and seen a great deal: a trip can enrich someone only if one is well prepared for it and has studied the corresponding maps, books, albeit of a referential nature, and developed the impatience to see one sight or another. The author gives the example of many Russian painters who beautifully described their travels with their paintings.

However, D.S. Likhachev warns, sightseeing in cities and villages can only harm the traveler unless he has developed from an early age a special feeling of "moral settled way of life."

In his problem-raising and sharp journalist article entitled "The Ecology of Culture," the author explains this concept as follows: "Man is a morally settled being, even if he is a nomad. Nomads too had 'roots' in their free roaming. It is only the immoral person who has no roots and who can kill the roots in others."

It is good when "moral roots" are developed in everyone since childhood, from the initial vital impressions acquired in the parental home, in the family, on one's street, in town or country, at school, and in the first travels one takes around the country. "If a person does not love, albeit infrequently, to

look at old photographs of his parents, if he does not value the memory of them, remembering the garden they cultivated and the things which belonged to them, he did not love them. If a person does not love the old streets, old homes, even bad ones, it means that he does not love his city. If a man is indifferent to the monuments of his country's history, as a rule he is indifferent to his country as well."

This is a harsh and frank judgment. However, the writings of Likhachev the journalist prove that more than adequate grounds exist for such harshness. In recent years a number of articles have been published in our press confirming the extremely adverse situation regarding the preservation of dozens or even hundreds of monuments of history and culture. D.S. Likhachev's articles invariably stand out among them. They are distinguished by their thoughtfulness, carefully weighed summations and a high degree of civic concern. All of this makes the journalistic articles of this noted scientist, written in defense of cultural monuments, particularly meaningful. The entire country has truly become an audience for his concerns. This is confirmed by the tremendous flow of responses in journals which have published D.S. Likhachev's articles, mainly OGONEK.

In our naivete, the path from the correct opinion and words to the right action may seem on occasion to be too short and straightforward: once something has been said, it must be accomplished immediately, it must be implemented. However, in reality such roads are frequently inaccessible and not entirely straight. Occasionally the right word may be heard repeatedly yet ignored by some official. Then one must keep knocking at other doors until, finally, a door will begin to yield slightly, creakingly. This depressing and, sometimes, sinister slowness, however, does not void the need for the right word and does not mean that one must not knock at doors.

Among other examples of this topical subject, D.S. Likhachev cites the following: According to folklore and the old literary monuments, two knights, the brothers Peresvet and Oslyabya, made their homeland famous on 8 September 1380, at Kulikovo field, with other Russian soldiers. For centuries, Muscovites treated with special respect the small Rozhdestva Bogoroditsy Church in Stariy Simonov, where the remains of the two heroes had been buried. The nearby streets--Peresvetinskaya and Oslyabinskaya--were named after them. This was something in the nature of a historical-architectural memorial in the outlying area of old Moscow--a place of national reverence for the military sacrifice made by our ancestors.

The scientist further cites the letter by Lenin Prize winner Pavel Korin, filled with concern and sadness, which was published many years ago in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. It tells us that this monument turned out to be on the grounds of the Dinamo Plant and that a compressor device was mounted in the church--a 180-kilowatt engine--as a result of which the old grounds were dug up, the memorial streets were renamed and there is absolutely no mention, not even a memorial plaque, of the heroes of that battle.

D.S. Likhachev reminds us that Youriy Seleznev, a people's artist, critic and literary expert, shared his civic concern in his article "Devotees of People's

Culture" and that other voices raised in defense of this memorial site were heard in the press....

Let me add on my own that the question of preserving the memorial building was finally nudged ahead through the efforts of the public and the plant's administration. The compressor system was dismantled and relocated in another premise which was built for it and the restoration of the church was started. However, this is being done extremely slowly, and so far no unanimous opinion has been reached on how to convert this monument into a museum. Meanwhile, strange admissions are appearing in the press: "There is virtually no hope of preserving old burial grounds" (VOPROSY ISTORII, No 9, 1985); "so far the grave has not been found" (NAUKA I ZHIZN, No 2, 1986). This may sound like a harmless statement. But then someone may be tempted to interpret it as follows: If there is no grave, why worry about the fate of this building? We are all too familiar with this theme. Quotations taken out of context and from old written sources, arbitrarily interpreted, are used to "prove" that Peresvet was not a Russian fighter at Kulikovo field at all, while Oslyabya did not die that day. We can therefore question the nationwide fame of these two princes, a fame which, incidentally, has been vividly reflected in dozens of works of literature and the graphic arts. Therefore, allegedly with a view to clarifying a scientific truth, it is possible to deheroize two noted fighters of the 14th century. So what if the graves "were not found!"

Yes, there are no graves. Furthermore, they could hardly be found in a ground which has been so dug up for industrial purposes. We believe, however, that much closer to the truth are not some supercritical historians but the plant workers, the voluntary restorers who, in a thrust of sincere patriotic feeling, are taking flowers to the burial site and laying them on the ground under an old mural depicting Dmitriy Donskiy and other heroic knights.

If from the very beginning the seeds of "moral roots" have not been planted in the minds of a person, he will inevitably develop a slumbering, weed-covered indifference toward the "life-making holies" of our history. We hear the author's voice full of pain, insult, puzzlement and indignation when he speaks of the blasted iron monument at the Bagration burial site, or the tactlessness shown in the case of the old layout and building by "landscaping" architects of contemporary Novgorod, or else the Rastrell Palace which was rased in Leningrad, or else when he recalls that "on New Year's eve of 1977 for their own amusement children set fire to an ensemble of two 18th-century churches which were under government protection at Mezrzhegory Village, in Severnaya Dvina...." Were the adolescents alone to be blamed for this sacrilege? Should we not also blame those who for decades ignored the true protection of old buildings, saying that the regulation signs had been put on their walls. But then "a monument which has been neglected, which is half-destroyed and forgotten, on which a rusty sign with barely legible words 'Protected by the State,' has been fixed, such a monument....is totally detrimental to the people's memory and to our respect for the honor and dignity of the homeland."

Also guilty are those teachers who have been unable to develop in the children that same feeling of "moral roots." That is why repeatedly and persistently, in both books, D.S. Likhachev speaks of the vital nature of a comprehensive resumption of regional studies, involving museum, publishing and pedagogical

work. "It is absolutely necessary to include in the secondary school curriculum regional studies, along with foundations of biological and cultural ecology, and encourage setting up in the schools circles on the history and nature of the native land. One should not only call for patriotism but nurture it carefully."

One of the mandatory components of such education, the scientist deeply believes, must be a thorough familiarity with national cultural values of different ages, starting with the folklore and literature of Ancient Rus. As the acknowledged elder and inspirer of an entire trend in our philological science, D.S. Likhachev justifiably included in his book "Proshloye--Budushchemu" a long segment on his favorite discipline, naming it quite accurately "Ancient Russian Literature and Contemporaneity."

The first 700 years of domestic literature is a phenomenon of global significance, a kind of literary state. This is a literature possessing a tremendous charge of morality, a most original poetry, a streamlined system of highly developed graphic tools. It is a literature of extreme conscientiousness, truthfulness and tireless asking of moral questions. Today, looked at from our century, it appears as a tremendous work, a literature with "open borders," carrying the lofty gift of acceptance of all the best which could be taken from the literatures of other nations. This literature daringly exposed the injustice of princes and kings and of all powers of this world. Its moral maximalism, "instructiveness" and "tremendous social responsibility" made it an equal interlocutor in its dialogue with the present. "In turning to Soviet literatures of today, shall we not find in them those same features, which have been inherent in the entire millennium of development of eastern Slavic literatures?" The scientist answers this question in the affirmative, listing the names of an entire series of known contemporary writers, whose books are imbued with a "great spiritual hurt, passion and aspiration for the better."

In the opinion of the researcher, ancient Russian literature developed a particular "style of monumental historicism." This applies to the ability to encompass within a single and even small work the huge dimensions of one's native land, accompanied with the ability to combine, to bring together various times and ages, and to see and single out in man his spiritual-physical beauty and power. However, this was a monumentalism with no trace of ostentatiousness, gigantomania, or unrestrained magniloquence. It is that same literature which paved the way to "shortening distances" "between people, between the past and the present, and among cultures, nations and countries."

This "shortening of distances" between our time and our ancient culture, becomes particularly noticeable in times of national upheavals. In his "postface to the pamphlet of 1942," D.S. Likhachev recalls how in blockaded Leningrad, the writings of our ancient chronicles were perceived in a special manner. "To understand those 900 days of defense of Leningrad was possible only on the scale of the entire 1000-year history of Russia. The stories in the chronicles seemed to define the dimensions of Leningrad's events. I realized that it was urgently necessary to recall the history of besieged ancient Russian cities." This gave me the idea of writing a small pamphlet

entitled "Defense of Ancient Russian Cities." In 1942 this booklet took its place in the ranks of the defenders of Leningrad.

War and culture.... The feeling of "sadness for Russian culture" is filled with the experiences of millions of compatriots of the scientist, firmly blending in his recollections of the war with another victorious feeling: pride. This was pride in the soldiers, the restorers and the scientists, pride in all those who then and later stood on guard over cultural values. They include nameless Soviet soldiers who fought at the walls of Novgorod. Our artillerymen strictly observed the order of the command: not to fire at the ancient Novgorod churches in which fascist observers had taken positions and were directing the fire of their batteries.

The essay on Ilya Nikolayevich Golenishchev-Kutuzov, the great-grandson of the great Russian military leader, is an exciting documentary-biographic novel. By the will of destiny this scientist, whose name was world famous, spent most of his life away from the homeland. His most ancient dream of returning to the Soviet Union came true only in the mid-1950s.

In World War II I.N. Golenishchev-Kutuzov was a member of the Popular Front clandestine movement in Yugoslavia, headed by communists. Together with 30 antifascist professors of Belgrade University, he was taken hostage and thrown in the Banitsa Gestapo concentration camp. After the camp inmates were liberated he joined the partisans and participated in the battles for Belgrade; he was subsequently appointed military commissar of the "Russian house" in the Yugoslav capital cleared from the Hitlerite aggressors.

However, I.N. Golenishchev-Kutuzov did not defend the cultural values of the Slavic peoples exclusively with arms in hand. His article in defense of the authenticity of the "Lay of the Host of Igor," which refuted the false conclusions drawn by French Professor A. Mason, was printed in a Belgrade printing press while bombs were being dropped. This too was a struggle, this time in the "invisible area of the spirit," a struggle aimed, as D.S. Likhachev said, "against concepts prevailing among Western literary experts on the second-rate nature of the spiritual creativity of the Slavs."

D.S. Likhachev himself had to take part in such a struggle at different times, not only in connection with the brilliant "Lay of the Host of Igor," which, for some reason, is particularly agitating unconscientious Western "interpreters" of ancient Russian literature. The plague of the so-called supercriticism of the 20th century has affected a number of names and reputations. Some people would have liked to question the authenticity of the glory of the ancient philosopher Socrates (could Plato and Xenophont have "invented" Socrates?) or the greatness and originality of Shakespeare's works (also "fabricated" by other more talented of his contemporaries).... Pushkin himself, rejecting any grumbling concerning the "Lay," brought forth an argument of unique simplicity: "The Lay" could not have been an 18th century forgery, for the sole reason that not a single writer of that time had the necessary talent to play such a game.

In no way can the "Lay of the Host of Igor" be classified as part of the 18th century Russian literature for yet another reason. It is imbued with the

tragic feeling of the decades which preceded the Mongolian invasion. It is entirely and totally within the range of the "style of monumental historicism." The monumental nature of 18th century literature is of an entirely different nature. Here it is victory and triumph and, to a certain extent, even a pompous feeling that predominate; here the thunder of victory can be heard suddenly, for which reason the tragic premonition of immediate trouble is totally lacking. The daring exposure of the "untruthfulness" of princes and the thunderous voice of the author, striking at the conscience, are inseparable from the overall instructive nature of ancient Russian literature and its national scale and pathos. In defending the spiritual originality of the Slavs and noting their creative contribution to the treasury of world culture, D.S. Likhachev can claim with full justification that "in no other country in the world, from the very beginning of its appearance, has literature played such a tremendous governmental and social role as it did among the eastern Slavs."

The scientist linked his entire destiny precisely with this type of literature. Unquestionably, it was instructive to him personally as well. It is probably this circumstance that could not fail to ascribe the merits of "monumental historicism" to his own creative works. Perhaps it is even unnecessary to say that historicism in thinking is vitally necessary to a philologist who deals with literary events covering a huge historical cycle of 700 years. Actually, this applies not even to 700 but to 1,000 years of our literature, ancient and new, for the scientist constantly, in the flow of his thoughts, comparisons and summations, includes the new literature as well. Such type of historicism speaks for itself in the assessment of literary phenomena and monuments and in discussions about scientific phenomena and scientists.

We believe that the views of D.S. Likhachev pertaining to the world of science, the humanities and philology above all, are instructive not only to professionals but also to the broadest possible circle of readers. Not for nothing does this scientist end his discussion on the fate of philology in the age of scientific and technical progress with his address to senior classmen entitled "Letter." The need for a philological approach is felt everywhere and the question of the need "to return to philology" is being raised with increasing frequency, as a binding link among all sciences and not only the humanities. "...Philology is what links all links." It is "at the foundation not only of science but of all human culture," "for the word is at the beginning of culture and at its end...."

Any real advance in the humanities is built on the economical, the disciplined love for words. Words are depreciated and lose their life force when the scientist in pursuit of "cultural fiction" turns into a terminological factory. In such cases the result is always pitiful. "If the scientist creates hundreds of new terms he destroys science; if he creates dozens of terms he supports it; if he creates two or three he advances it."

It is always instructive find out the way a writer rates the work of his colleagues in literature or a scientist speaks about other scientists. One is impressed by the interest and great generosity with which D.S. Likhachev paints brief but meaningful portraits of a great number of contemporary

scientists. Generosity of spirit is a mandatory feature of his portraits, let us particularly emphasize, for in any science the spirit of competition and disparity of views and theoretical confrontations is an ordinary, a somewhat natural phenomenon. The fact that not everyone has the possibility of rising above scientific life and seeing in one's contemporaries a movement toward unity rather than factionalism and quarrels and a play of pride is a different matter.

These portraits are of very different people in terms of scientific interests and temperament: the brilliant expert in the field of ancient Russian texts, tireless punster Academician Aleksander Sergeyevich Orlov; Varvara Pavlovna Adrianova-Peretts, the only organizer of research work and eternal worker, one of a kind; the phenomenal expert and patriot of the Russian North, who crossed it in length and width in the search of ancient manuscripts, Vladimir Ivanovich Malyshev, this "Klyuyev and Yesenin of our science;" the noble and disinterested David Ilich Arsenishvili, who dedicated his life to the creation of the museum of ancient Russian art imeni Andrey Rublev, at the Andronikov Monastery in Moscow; Anna Mikhaylovna Astakhova, who acted like a thrifty housewife in taking care of the "great Russian northern hut," and who managed to collect both byliny and to "train post-graduate students and sew sandbags during the blockade".... Dmitriy Sergeyevich Likhachev writes profoundly and generously about these and many other companions in his life in science, able to detect the best of all of them or else to note with barely perceptible irony the weaknesses or oddities in the manner in which a popular contemporary would present his views. Here is an example: "Reading his works demands mental work in order to restore the idea planned by the author but not presented to the reader in its entirety. It is as though he offers the reader puzzles to be put together. Together with the readers he is happy when the picture which he offers overwhelms the reader with its unexpected nature." One could guess that the author of the picture was enjoying himself much more than the confused reader.

As to D.S. Likhachev, he remained invariably loyal to his own wisdom: the language of scientific writing must be "inconspicuous." The particular clarity, intelligibility and inobtrusiveness and restrained eloquence of Likhachev's style are not the least important components of the great success of his books written in different decades, such as "Russian Chronicles," "The National Self-Awareness of Ancient Rus," "Lay of the Host of Igor and the Culture of its Time," "Man and Literature in Ancient Rus," "The Poetry of Ancient Russian Literature," and many others. Izdatelstvo Khudozhestvennaya Literatura has already published eight volumes of the work "Pamyatnikov Literatury Drevney Rusi" [Literary Monuments of Ancient Rus], which is a unique compilation of the basic works of our ancient literature, created over a period of 700 years. D.S. Likhachev and USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member L.A. Dmitriev are the general editors of this unique fundamental publication, produced with the help of a group of researchers in the field of ancient Russian literature. Each volume opens with an introductory article by D.S. Likhachev. Even before the remaining volumes have been published, we can say with full justification that this compilation in itself will be a splendid monument which modern philology is erecting in honor of the great historical past of the homeland, in honor of its culture.

One of the important features of this publication may be that such a remarkable event is taking place quietly, without any loud publicity. In other words, as D.S. Likhachev would say, this is an intelligent event.

In one of the chapters of his "Letters," in talking to school students about true intellectualism, the scientist equates it with moral health which, understandably, is not an adjective applicable to a certain class only. He writes that he has known truly intelligent people among peasants in the northern Russian villages. In discussing moral health, he quotes a sentence from an old book: "Honor your father and your mother and you will live long." At the end of the chapter he explains that "we shall live a long time as people and as nation! As to honoring your father and mother, the term should be understood in its broad meaning: as honoring the best of our past, which is the father and the mother of our present, of our great present, belonging to which is a great happiness."

This is a splendid thought requiring no explanation. It characterizes best the person who expressed it, a person who speaks of the past for the sake of the future.

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## OUR SPIRITUAL WEALTH

### BRILLIANT SCIENTIST AND FOUNDER OF THE FIRST UNIVERSITY IN RUSSIA

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[Article by Academician A. Logunov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, rector of the Moscow State University imeni M.V. Lomonosov]

[Text] Our country and the progressive public the world over are solemnly marking the 275th anniversary of the birth of Mikhail Vasilyevich Lomonosov, the greatest Russian scientist and patriot.

Lomonosov's accomplishments are amazing. This peasant youth, who strived for knowledge, came to Moscow from the distant north of the Russian state--the area of the Dvina, and within a short time became a major scientist of his time, solving basic scientific problems, laying the foundations of a number of main trends in the natural sciences, outdistancing by decades the scientists of his time. Lomonosov ascribed exceptional importance to the practical utilization of scientific results and demonstrated through all of his scientific works a clear understanding of new outstanding accomplishments.

Even listing the areas in which this great encyclopedic scientist made a substantial contribution would be difficult. Lomonosov was a natural scientist, philosopher, poet, historian, painter and social leader. He discovered a number of basic natural-science laws, studied and laid the foundations of metallurgy and mining, created the porcelain and ceramic industries, was the founder of physical chemistry and compiled the first truly scientific Russian grammar. In thinking of the ways of improving the wellbeing of his homeland, in a letter to I.I. Shuvalov, dated 1 November 1761, he wrote: "All the various thoughts which appeared at different times could be classified, it seems to me, under the following chapters:

1. Multiplication and preservation of the Russian people.
2. Elimination of idleness.
3. Improving mores and giving the people a better education.
4. Reforming agriculture.
5. Reforming and increasing artisanship and the arts.

6. Improving trade.
7. Improving the economy of the state.
8. Maintaining the art of war during long times of peace.

These most important items demand profound considerations and long-term governmental efforts in the art of explaining them and making precautionary efforts for their implementation."

In 1763 he wrote: "The wellbeing, glory and prosperous condition of the state has three sources. The first is domestic tranquility, safety and satisfaction of the citizens; the second is victorious actions against the enemy, ending in a profitable and glorious peace; the third is trade in domestic surpluses with distant peoples. The Russian empire is equal to the best European countries and superior to many in its domestic abundance and tremendous victories."

Lomonosov firmly supported the implementation of the steps taken by Peter the Great on strengthening the economic and cultural autonomy of the Russian state. For example, when assigned to head the geographic department in 1758, he immediately drafted a program for the study of Russian economic geography in order to make faster use of the efforts of the people and the natural resources for the development of the country.

As tireless organizer of domestic science and the entire educational system, alien to national exclusivity, M.V. Lomonosov was the first scientist to deliver lectures in the Russian language and did a great deal to disseminate knowledge among the people. He was the founder and creator of Moscow University--the first university in Russia.

"Combining inordinate willpower with inordinate conceptual power, Lomonosov encompassed all educational sectors," A.S. Pushkin wrote. He also called him "the greatest mind of most recent times, a person who has made the greatest turn in science and who gave it the direction it is following today."

Lomonosov spent his entire life waging an irreconcilable struggle for truth in science. His scientific principle-mindedness was truly boundless. He highly rated Descartes, the philosopher and mathematician, for his daring criticism of the clergy's scholastic interpretation of Aristotle. Lomonosov firmly opposed the then prestigious claims by Boyle that the weight of metal increases in firing. After a tremendous number of experiments in sealed vessels, he experimentally proved the Law of Conservation of Mass he had formulated earlier (5 July 1748) in a letter to L. Eyler. "These experiments proved that the view of the great Robert Boyle is false, for without allowing any air from the outside, the weight of the heated metal remains the same," Lomonosov wrote. Many members of the Petersburg Academy of Sciences attacked him, charging him of undermining the reputation of a famous personality.

Lomonosov's experiments provided the first irrefutable experimental proof in the history of science of the preservation of matter in chemical reactions. This law was formulated as follows: "All the changes which occur in nature are such that it is only the loss of one body that is added to another.

Therefore, if matter is lost somewhere it will be increased elsewhere....This is a universal natural law which applies to motion as well, for a body which moves another body through its own force will lose as much as it will add to the other body which will obtain it as a result of this movement."

It is thus that Lomonosov formulated the most important law of nature, that of the indistructibility of matter and motion, proclaiming it a universal law of the natural science.

Lomonosov's priority in the discovery of this law is unquestionable. The French chemist Lavoisier contributed a great deal to the application of the law of conservation of matter in the practice of European chemists. Forty one years after Lomonosov, in his chemistry course, in describing the process of the fermentation of grape sugar, Lavoisier noted that the weight of the sugar equals the weight of the alcohol and the carbon dioxide and that "in all operations the quantity of matter remains the same before and after the operation...."

Two other examples of Lomonosov's scientific daring include his critique of some of Newton's scientific views. Newton explained the nature of light by the flow of corpuscles--some kind of particular light "matter." This view was supported by the majority of physicists of that time. Lomonosov opposed Newton's suppositions, considering that light was a wave--the undular movement of the aether.

In his "word on the origin of light" (1756) he claimed that Newton's theory did not agree with the laws of mechanics and experimentation. If light is explained by the draining of matter, why is it that when rays of light pass through narrow cracks nothing occurs and there is no "mixing in the rays?" Lomonosov asked: "Where are the just logical conclusions? Where are the inviolable applications of the laws?" He answered: the difficulties are eliminated if we accept the undular theory of light.

Lomonosov's ideas in explaining the nature of light were so daring that even S.T. Rumovskiy, L. Eyler's most devoted student (who warmly supported the theory) did not dare publicly to accept it and wrote: "It is difficult or totally impossible as yet to decide which of the two is right."

Newton's theory prevailed for many more years and it was only the discoveries of Young, followed by Frenel, that proved the wave properties of light. It is interesting to note that when Young published an article in 1800 in which he pointed out the weak aspects of Newton's theory, he was sharply criticized in England and even began to doubt his own discoveries.

Lomonosov's scientific principle-mindedness was also manifested in his rejection of the theory of "heat origin," which prevailed at that time. Most of the scientists were convinced that there were some forms of matter, so-called "fluids," which could neither be taken, nor trapped or retained. The existence of such fluids was used to explain the appearance of heat, light, electricity and magnetism. Physics textbooks even claimed that it would hardly be possible ever to bring to light such secret matter.

Lomonosov basically disagreed with these views and already in his dissertation "On Nonsensitive Particles of Objects," written in 1742-1744, formulated the law according to which heat can be explained by the inner movement of matter itself and defined it as absolute zero: "The greatest cold in an body is absolute rest...," thus anticipating by more than a century developments in this area of knowledge.

In his work "Thoughts on the Causes of Heat and Cold," which was submitted in 1744, Lomonosov wrote: "In our time the reason for heat is ascribed to matter which most people consider as heat-creating; others describe it as aethereal and some as elementary fire....It would be good for them to learn also that the heat of the body expands and the movement of this matter which has entered into it at one point increases. However, they consider as the true reason for the increase or reduction of heat a simple addition or subtraction of various quantities of such matter. This view has become so deeply rooted in the minds of many people that one could read in works of physics that some kind of heat originating matter enters the pores of objects, as though attracted by some kind of love elixir and, conversely, that it stormily leaves it as though horrified."

The only explanation of heat, according to Lomonosov, was motion. He considered this law his main contribution to science.

In speaking of Lomonosov as a natural scientist, we must single out his works in chemistry, and the foundations of physical chemistry he developed, as well as his efforts to develop the Russian chemical industry.

As a result of long requests and petitions by Professor Lomonosov, who had already become famous by then, a ukase was promulgated in 1746 on building a chemical laboratory based on his design. Finally, the Academy of Sciences, represented by its newly elected president Kirill Grigoryevich Razumovskiy, supported the creation of such a laboratory.

The laboratory opened in 1748. Here Lomonosov's initial works involved the development of dyes made of domestic raw materials. It was here that his talent developed in work on applied problems. He carried out assignments of different ministries and departments. Thus, for example, he played a great role in organizing the production of blue dyes made of dye grasses.

He also carried out a tremendous amount of theoretical work which led to his discovery of the law of the preservation of matter and dynamics and the explanation of the nature of heat, and to laying the foundations of physical chemistry and many others.

Lomonosov clearly formulated the requirements for the chemist of a new type. He wrote that a researcher can achieve success in chemistry only when he learns "to measure with the help of geometry, to weigh with the help of mechanics and to look through optics...combining within a single person the chemist and the profound mathematician."

Lomonosov demanded of the mathematician to be "not only artful in difficult matters," but also to consider the importance "in inventions and proofs, of

becoming accustomed to mathematical strictness, applying precise truth in nature and being able to draw conclusions with precision and honesty." He considered equally important the use of theory and experimentation and the formulation and testing of hypotheses.

We are amazed by his inventiveness as an experimenter in carrying out a planned program of physical and chemical experiments. He updated a number of existing instruments in order to determine the solidity of matter, for which he invented a special grinder; he developed a viscosity meter to measure the viscosity of liquids; he improved a boiler for obtaining high pressure; he designed his own thermometer and was the first to apply in the practice of chemical research a microscope; he made an instrument from lenses for the melting of crystals; he built a refraction meter for liquids and studied coefficients of refraction of light rays.

Lomonosov studied the properties of solutions, colloids and alloys. All of this enabled him to develop views on nature based on atomistic principles.

In 1752-1754, he was the first in the history of the natural sciences to write a "Course of True Physical Chemistry." Physical chemistry, as Lomonosov emphasized, is a science which explains, on the basis of the views and experiments in physics, that which occurs in mixed bodies subject to chemical operations" Lomonosov clearly realized that the elaboration of such a theory requires abstract elaborations and a knowledge of the "prime particles," i.e., of atoms and corpuscles (molecules)--a combination of elements forming a single small mass.

It was on the basis of atom-molecular concepts on the structure of matter that in 1741 Lomonosov formulated the general grounds for a new law: "At the beginning there is a body consisting of homogeneous corpuscles. A mixed body is a body which consists of two or several different principles, combined among each other in such a way that each of its individual corpuscles has the same relation to the initial parts of which the body consists as (in the case of entire initial parts) the entire mixed body."

With the help of his atomic hypothesis, Lomonosov undertook to explain the nature of heat and various physical processes related to heat as well as the process of dissolving. He laid the foundations of the contemporary kinetic theory of gases. Thus, considering the property of elasticity of the air, in 1748 he wrote in the work "Attempt at a Theory of Elasticity of the Forces of the Air," that this property is manifested not in isolated particles which have no physical complexity whatsoever or organizational structure, but in their totality.

Let us point out that Lomonosov's atomistic concept was so innovative that even 100 years later it had not been fully accepted. At that time the chemists used only some of its concepts, without rising to the general level which had been suggested by the brilliant Russian scientist. Actually, it was only the discovery of Mendeleev's periodical law that became the brilliant summation of the development of atomistics--the physical and chemical properties of elements and the atomic weight turned out to be related through a specific correlation.

Even these accomplishments, which are only part of Lomonosov's scientific legacy, would suffice to make this brilliant scientist immortal. However, he had equal merits in the development of philosophy, history and literature. Lomonosov was also a great organizer of education, of public instruction in Russia. He considered the existing situation intolerable. It was thus that he developed the idea of setting up the first university in the country.

Lomonosov's merit is not only that he understood the national significance of this important matter but also that he dedicated tremendous efforts to solve this problem.

Lomonosov was the real founder of Moscow University and the drafter of its design and plan. In his project, the first point is the demand for a broad and firm plan. "My main consideration... is for the plan of the university to be such as to serve all future generations. The plan must call for a large number of professors and students, considering the lack of scientists today."

It was these ideas and thoughts that became the foundations of the project for the creation of Moscow University, which was approved by the government on 12 January 1755.

This project took into consideration the vital needs of the country for specialists with broad general training and with the skill to work in some areas of economic, scientific and cultural activities. Lomonosov participated most energetically in drafting the university statutes.

Thanks to the tireless energy and persistence of this scientist, his thoughts and demands were carried out and Moscow University was solemnly inaugurated on 26 April 1755 in the premises of the former palace pharmacy, on Red Square, the present location of the History Museum; 4 years later, the university was able to send its first alumni abroad, where they earned doctoral degrees at the best universities of the time; their dissertations were considered brilliant; in 1765 they returned to their native Moscow University to fill department vacancies.

In accordance with Lomonosov's ideas, the university had three departments: juridical, philosophical and medical. Unlike the standard concept of foreign universities, it had no theological department. Furthermore, theology was not even taught. In substantiating this progressive innovation, in his "Plan for the Establishment of Moscow University," Lomonosov pointed out that "the teaching of theology is justifiably left to the Holy Synod."

The philosophy department included two cycles of sciences: physical-mathematical and historical-philological. Let us emphasize at this point that Lomonosov ascribed particular importance to the development of physics and chemistry and their teaching in the new university. "Chemistry is widely spreading its hands in human affairs," he said as early as 1751.

Based on Lomonosov's plan, an excellent physics laboratory was set up when the university was founded. The laboratory and the library were the first to be shown to honored visitors and were the pride of the university leadership. It is interesting to note that already then Lomonosov deemed it necessary to

train the students in physical chemistry, although at that time this science was not being taught anywhere as a separate subject.

At the same time that Moscow University was founded, on Lomonosov's insistence a high school was set up under it, in order to prepare young people for enrollment in the university. Without a high school, in his words, the university would have been a plowland without seeds. This high school played a positive role in domestic education. Many of its alumni, even those who did not subsequently attend the university, were of great use to the development of Russian culture and science. This particularly applies to an outstanding educator, such as N.I. Novikov.

At that time in all foreign universities classes were taught in the classical language of medieval science, Latin. Lomonosov insisted that lectures be delivered in Russian at Moscow University. Throughout his life he worked on the development of a Russian scientific terminology. Many of Lomonosov's terms have been retained to this day.

His students supported the same ideas. In his programmatic opening lecture, N.N. Popovskiy, the first Russian professor at Moscow University, said: "There is no thought which cannot be explained in Russian." N.N. Popovskiy and A.A. Barsov introduced the study of Russian literature at the university. It was no accident that later Fonvizin recalled that he acquired a taste for literature precisely at Moscow University.

M.V. Lomonosov succeeded in granting the right to enroll in Moscow University to all social classes. It was a tremendous achievement of the scientist that he always supported the universal accessibility to education.

In substantiating this approach, in a note "On the Need for Reorganization of the Academy of Sciences," he wrote: "The student who learns more will be more honored at the university and whose son he is does not matter." The first university students did not include a single member of the nobility; most of the students were raznochintsy.

Lomonosov crushingly recuffed those who wanted to block the access of children of the peasants to the high school of Moscow University. "It is amazing that Mr. Fisher, who knows Latin, and is familiar with Horatio and other scientists and noted people of Rome, did not realize that they were freed slaves, when he so scornfully rejects the enrollment of freemen in the high school..." Lomonosov wrote indignantly.

A publishing house and a printing press were set up at the university in 1756, one year after its inauguration.

The printing press began its activities with the publication of the works of M.V. Lomonosov. It published the works of university professors, original Russian translations of textbooks, historical documents and monuments. Thus, in the 18th century Moscow University had published the works of Fonvizin, Sumarokov, Kheraskov and other Russian writers, and the works of Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, Beaumarchais, Molliere, Shakespeare, Lessing and many other

Western European writers. The most active period in N.I. Novikov's publishing activities were related precisely to the university press.

Lomonosov's idea of making active use of practical training methods was applied in the activities of Moscow University: here training involved debates, discussions, practical training and student conferences.

In 1755 Lomonosov suggested that "students have public debates every month." The same was mentioned in the draft university regulation he wrote in 1759 and his definition on the reorganization of the university of 14 February 1760.

The essence of the procedure of the university debate was described in point 14, "Project on Establishing the Moscow University" (1754), which reads: "Before each vacation, public debates must take place to which all lovers of science would be invited. One of the students will deliver a brief speech in Latin before the beginning of the debate and another one after the debate, in the Russian language, on a suitable topic."

In terms of the organization of the training process he called for combining theoretical with practical training and for clarity. For example, the draft pointed out that a professor of physics "must teach experimental and theoretical physics;" a professor in the natural sciences "must display in his lectures various types of minerals, grasses and animals;" a professor of anatomy "must teach and indicate the practical structure of the human body in the whole of anatomy and teach medical practice to the students."

In order better to combine a good general education with extensive specialized knowledge and ensure a high level of university training, in addition to his views on university regulations, Lomonosov developed the idea of trilevel education.

On the first level "students will attend all lectures in order to gain an idea of all sciences and so that any one of them could see the type of science for which he is best suited and which he likes most." On the second level, "the students must attend only lectures on the subject they are studying." On the third level, classes will be attended "by those who have already been assigned to a professor and are training in a single science."

The ideas of all-round cooperation in the development of world science and progress of human civilization and the enhancement of the national genius of Russia were laid by Lomonosov as the foundations for the creation of Moscow University. They were further extended in his activities. Following precisely the ideas of its founder, for more than 230 years, the university has been serving the homeland with honor and dignity, increasing the intellectual wealth of the people and making a tremendous creative contribution to the treasury of world science.

The exceptionally vivid history of Moscow University and its fate are inseparable from the country's history. The university played an outstanding role in the establishment and uplift of Russian national culture and science, the dissemination of education, the development of the revolutionary movement

and the liberation struggle of the people, the development of a close alliance between science and democracy and the training of a progressive domestic intelligentsia and, after the Great October Revolution, in the scientific, social and cultural life of the land of the soviets.

It is precisely in Moscow University that an outstanding galaxy of scientists, literary workers and artists, who famed their homeland and people with their outstanding accomplishments, were trained and educated.

It would be difficult here to name individually all of them. However, it is impossible not to name the Decembrists and the revolutionary democrats I.V. Yakushkin, N.M. Muravyev, P.G. Kakhovskiy, V.G. Belinskiy, A.I. Herzen and N.P. Ogarev; the great Russian scientists I.M. Sechenov, P.L. Chebyshev, K.D. Ushinskiy, N.I. Pirogov, A.G. Stoletov, and S.A. Chaplygin; the great Russian writers and poets D.I. Fonvizin, V.A. Zhukovskiy, A.S. Griboyedov, I.S. Turgenev, M.Yu. Lermontov, F.I. Tyutchev, A.N. Ostrovskiy, A.A. Fet, I.A. Goncharov, A.F. Pisemskiy, A.P. Chekhov and V.Ya. Bryusov; the outstanding representatives of Russian art and culture V.I. Bazhenov, L.V. Sobinov, V.I. Nemirovich-Danchenko and Ye.B. Vakhtangov; and leaders of the Bolshevik Party V.V. Vorovskiy, I.I. Skvortsov-Stepanov, V.K. Kurnatovskiy and N.A. Semashko.

After the Great October Revolution the university actively joined in building the new society. At all stages in the development of the land of the soviets it held an outstanding position in the country's scientific, social and cultural life, and was an intrinsic part of the people and their constructive toil. After the October Revolution a period of tempestuous growth and renovation began for Moscow University and a powerful development in its pedagogical and scientific activities took place.

The main concern of MGU today is to embody the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and to increase its creative contribution to the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development and its advance toward communism.

The training and scientific potential of Moscow University today, compared with the first years of its existence, is truly tremendous and unique and so are the tremendous tasks which it faces.

M.V. Lomonosov was the founder of the first domestic scientific schools which brought fame to our homeland with their major studies and discoveries. Today as well the scientific achievements of MGU are particularly great precisely in areas of knowledge in which major scientific schools have developed, are functioning and advancing. The activities of such scientific schools are related to the names of the most famous university scientists, who have become the pride of our entire people. We must name among them I.M. Sechenov, K.A. Timiryazev, N.I. Pirogov, A.G. Stoletov, N.A. Umov, P.N. Lebedev, F.A. Bredikhin, P.L. Chebyshev, N.Ye. Zhukovskiy, S.A. Chaplygin, V.V. Markovnikov, I.A. Kablukov, D.F. Yegorov, N.N. Luzin, V.I. Vernadskiy, L.I. Mandelshtam, D.N. Pryanishnikov, N.D. Zelinskiy, S.M. Solov'yev, V.O. Klyuchevskiy, M.A. Menzbir, B.D. Grekov, D.N. Anuchin, N.N. Baranskiy, S.I. Vavilov, M.V. Keldysh, I.Ye. Tam, I.M. Vinogradov, I.G. Petrovskiy, A.N. Nesmeyanov, A.N. Belozerskiy, L.D. Landau and many others.

The scientific school of mathematicians of Moscow University is world famous. Its activities include outstanding achievements in the development of mathematical analysis, the theory of probabilities, topology, the set theory and the theory of functions. Great contribution has been made by university mathematicians to the creation and development of systems of differential equations with partial derivatives, studies of the problem of stability of Hamiltonian systems, the theory of algebraic curves and Abelian manifolds, the development of problems of differential geometry, higher geometry and multidimensional geometry and the solution of many other basic mathematical problems.

The activities of the scientific school of physicists of Moscow University have been noted for their outstanding accomplishments; it has contributed a great deal in the fields of basic research of the atomic nucleus and elementary particles, the nature of solid state bodies, superfluidity and superconductivity, the outer radiation belts of the earth and the moon, the development of topical problems of high energy physics, quantum theory, applied physics and many other fundamental areas of physics.

The scientific school of chemistry of the university has made a major contribution to the development of organic chemistry, the chemistry of high molecular compounds and the features and characteristics of chain reactions.

Domestic historical science cannot be imagined without the basic works of the university school of history, which has participated most actively in the creation of a scientific picture of the development of our country and of many other nations throughout the world.

The scientific schools working in mechanics, computer mathematics and cybernetics, geology and many other areas enjoy outstanding traditions. Specialists in the humanities departments are working on problems of CPSU history, the world revolutionary movement, the development of international relations, the laws governing the perfecting of socialism and fundamental problems of philology (Russian language above all), journalism, law and psychology.

The results of the most important scientific works carried out at MGU have been acknowledged as discoveries and recorded in the state register of discoveries of the USSR. Currently they number 36. This is one tenth of all registered discoveries in the country. The high science prizes awarded to university scientists is proof of the high value given to their research. Ever since it was instituted, the Lenin prize has been awarded to more than 90 MGU scientists; the state prize has been awarded to more than 350 people. A large group of researchers proudly bear the title of laureates of the Prize imeni M.V. Lomonosov. This prize was instituted by USSR Sovnarkom decree dated 29 May 1944.

The tasks set to Soviet science by the 27th CPSU Congress became new outstanding guidelines for MGU scientists.

M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, emphasized that "it is necessary to make more efficient use of VUZ scientific potential. VUZs

account for more than 35 percent of the scientific and education workers in the country, including about one half of doctors of sciences; yet they account for no more than 10 percent of scientific research. The respective departments must formulate and submit suggestions on strengthening the ties between VUZ science and production. They should take into consideration the training of scientific replacements. In the same way that a living forest cannot exist without undergrowth, a true scientist is inconceivable without students. This is a question of the future of science and, therefore, of our country. From the very first years of his training, the student must become involved in research and participate in the practical application of its results. It is only thus that true scientists and creatively thinking specialists can be trained."

These tasks, which are included in the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Congress, must be implemented above all by Moscow University, the flagbearer of Soviet VUZs. The party's programmatic stipulations are inspiring its collective to expand and intensify basic research, which is the foundation of scientific and technical progress. This requires the maximal utilization of the entire powerful scientific potential of the largest VUZ in the country.

The university is always concerned not only with the profound professional training but the comprehensive upbringing and harmonious development of every single one of its students. The main feature in this work is education in a spirit of high idea-mindedness and loyalty to the ideals of communism and in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and conscientious and creative attitude toward labor.

The new draft of the CPSU program emphasizes that "every party member must set an example in his work, behavior and public and private life." That is why the vanguard role of the communist--the educator and scientist working in a VUZ--must be manifested particularly clearly. This is inconceivable without high professional qualities, without a true creative participation in the development of science and without active efforts in the realm of social life. Every educator and every party member must, above all, convince and educate others through his example.

The task of every educator, and even more so of a communist educator, is to find an individual approach to the student, to understand him and to bring his talent to light. Talent may sometimes be timid, which means that it must be noted and helped to take shape, strengthen and grow. Naturally, this is not a simple task. Yet, it is our main one, for it is precisely this task that guarantees the future. It is closely related to another one: the ability to see and support progressive scientific ideas and everything that is new and progressive developing in science, in teaching and in the country's social life.

Our university traditions and the example and experience of our best alumni are extensively used in training undergraduate and graduate students.

Here as well, as in many other areas of activities, anything related to the personality of Lomonosov is of particular significance. To us he is not

simply the founder of the university or a great scientist whose outstanding works were greatly ahead of their time.

"Lomonosov was a great man," Pushkin wrote. "Between Peter the Great and Catherine the Great he was an original promoter of education. He created the first university. Better said, he himself was our first university."

To us Lomonosov is also a personality we use as an example in teaching and educating university youth. His loyalty to the homeland, faith in the strength and outstanding future of the Russian people and dedication to and love of science, extreme industriousness and aspiration to engage in constant creative quest are splendid examples to our contemporaries.

That is why today as well he is with us and is our teacher. His example and ideas help to develop in the young people the best human qualities.

Moscow University is solemnly honoring the 275th anniversary of Lomonosov's birth. Scientific conferences, special courses and special seminars have been timed for the celebration. Special articles and monographs are being written.

Armed with the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the collective of this university which proudly bears the name of the great Russian scientist M.V. Lomonosov is perfecting its training, scientific and educational activities and increasing its contribution to solving the constructive problems formulated by the party.

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## ARDENT FIGHTERS FOR COMMUNISM

'MOST LOYAL AND EFFICIENT REVOLUTIONARY'....

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 86 (signed to press 28 Oct 86) pp 92-97

[Article by A. Smolnikov, candidate of historical sciences]

[Text] History is made by people. This Marxist truth becomes particularly clear when we consider the lives of those who created the main events of the age, those whom we justifiably describe as the pioneers of socialism, the soldiers of the Leninist Bolshevik guard. They chose the revolution as their profession. The implementation of its laws helped them to become skillful builders of the new world. We gratefully list Grigoriy Konstantinovich Ordzhonikidze, Comrade Sergo, among the supporters of Ilich--the fighters for the October Revolution, soldiers in the civil war and "worker organizers" in restructuring the country on a socialist basis....

Petrograd, 24 October (6 Nov) 1917. Numbered minutes remain until the beginning of the decisive assault. It was precisely at that time that, straight from the railroad station, G.K. Ordzhonikidze came to Smolny from a Central Committee assignment in the Transcaucasus. He immediately found himself in the front end of the struggle. Kerenskiy's troops were moving on Petrograd. The revolution was in danger. It was as representative of the Military-Revolutionary Committee that Sergo went to meet the misled soldiers.

They met at the suburban Novinka railroad station: soldiers of the Third Cyclists Battalion and the representative of the VRK. Sergo told them that a decisive battle against the bourgeoisie, a battle for freedom, peace, bread, land and for the power of workers and peasants, was being fought on the streets of Petrograd. After slightly more than one hour, the military unit on which the Provisional Government relied so heavily, turned from its support into a combat detachment for the revolution. The ardent and passionate word of the bolshevik won. Lenin's truth won.

This was one of the many victories won by Ilich's fellow worker and outstanding leader of the Communist Party and Soviet state, G.K. Ordzhonikidze (1886-1937).

Ordzhonikidze was born and grew up in Georgia, in Tiflis, where he acquired training as a surgeon's assistant. As a student, in a proletarian

environment, he became familiar with bolshevik ideas. At age 17 he linked his life to the RSDWP.

In the spring of 1911 Ordzhonikidze went to Paris, to attend the party school which V.I. Lenin had set up. It was there that he met Vladimir Ilich for the first time. In rallying the local party organizations around Lenin's idea of convening a party-wide conference, Sergo successfully carried out an important party assignment and created the Russian Organizational Commission (ROK). In January 1912, at the Prague party conference, he submitted a report on ROK activities, which was highly rated by Lenin: "Acknowledgement of the tremendous importance of this project" (see "Pol. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 21, p 481). It was in recognition for the services of this young bolshevik that he was elected member of the party's Central Committee.

The hardships of the life of a professional revolutionary did not bypass Sergo: of the 14 years of active struggle under the conditions of tsarist autocracy, he spent 8 years in jail, in hard labor and exile. The February bourgeois-democratic revolution found him in distant Yakut exile. He returned from there to the revolutionary capital, became member of the Peterburg Bolshevik Committee and of the executive committee of the Petrograd Soviet. Plants, streets and barracks became his rostrums. He courageously defended the program of the Leninist party on problems of peace, land and socialist revolution and waged a fierce struggle against Mensheviks and S.R. According to the logbook of the agitation department of the Petrograd party committee, between August and December 1917 alone Sergo delivered some 25 speeches at meetings and gatherings of military units and in factories, plants and establishments.

In the October days of 1917, when a new chronicle was beginning in the history of mankind with the era of the defeat of capitalism and the assertion of the inextinguishable Leninist ideas of freedom, equality, social justice and fraternity among nations, Ordzhonikidze carried out important combat assignments issued by the party's Central Committee. During the period of foreign military intervention and civil war, Sergo was one of the organizers, builders and political leaders of the army of a new type.

After the establishment of a Soviet system in Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia, G.K. Ordzhonikidze initially headed the Caucasian Buro of the RKP (b) Central Committee Buro and, subsequently, the Transcaucasian Kray Party Committee. He strengthened the party and soviet authorities of the Transcaucasian republics and headed their struggle for upsurge and development of their national economy and culture and did extensive work to establish the Federation of Transcaucasian Republics.

This was a difficult mission. Organizing a new life for the numerous ethnic groups of this area depended on strengthening their international alliance, eliminating economic backwardness and actual inequality, and totally surmounting national discord. Under most complex intertwining of traditions, languages and various prejudices, it was necessary to find the only proper tactic of action in the struggle for a socialist reorganization. In a certain sense, a key to the solution of this problem was found in Lenin's letters to

the Transcaucasian communists, in which he particularly stressed the need to understand the national characteristics of each individual republic and each of the nations inhabiting it, and "the need not to duplicate our tactics but to change them thoughtfully, in accordance with differences in specific conditions." On this basis, "the productive forces of this rich area must be developed as much as possible..." (op. cit., vol 43, pp 198-199).

It was precisely this line that Ordzhonikidze followed in the Caucasus. He followed it with enthusiasm and passion, dedicating to this cause all of his forces and energy. Occasionally, revolutionary impatience and zeal led to failures and errors, for which Vladimir Ilich justifiably criticized Sergo. However, Ordzhonikidze had the most important quality of the Bolshevik-Leninist: the ability to accept criticism and to draw the necessary conclusions from it.

It was this type of principle-minded approach that he taught his party comrades, in the struggle for the purity and unity of its ranks, which Sergo waged in his responsible positions as chairman of the PsKK VKP (b) and the RKI People's Commissariat, for a period of 4 years. It was during that time that the most intensive struggle was being waged against Trotskyism, the "new opposition" and rightwing deviationism, and for the firmness of the Marxist-Leninist foundations of the party and the future of socialism in our country.

G.K. Ordzhonikidze's talent as organizer and manager was displayed most clearly in his position as chairman of the Union Higher Council of the National Economy, which he assumed on 10 November 1930. From that time on and until his last hour, Sergo headed our heavy industry and, essentially, the most important front of socialist industrialization. The joint Central Committee and Central Control Commission plenum (17-21 December 1930) made Ordzhonikidze member of the Central Committee Politburo.

In his person industrial management gained a warm supporter of technical progress and innovation and of combining science with production. He clearly realized that all economic sectors are inseparably interrelated and that the socialist economy is based on the principle of the comprehensive and proportional development of the entire national economy. "What Sergo had," Academician I.P. Bardin wrote, "was something which the specialist were short of: a broad outlook. He was able to see farther than us. He always marched ahead, urging on technical thinking. Justifiably, Sergo is known as the flagbearer of technical progress in our country..."

The greatest scientists in our country were invited to attend the first conference of the VSNKh after Ordzhonikidze's appointment: A.P. Karpinskiy, the then president of the Academy of Sciences, Academicians A.D. Arkhangelskiy, A.A. Baykov, I.M. Gubkin, M.A. Pavlov, A.Ye. Fersman and others. The problems discussed included surveys of the ground, developing a fuel base and metallurgical combines; the geography of the location of industrial complexes was considered. Although by then Sergo had acquired tremendous experience in party-political and economic work and profound knowledge in national economics, nevertheless, as he himself said, he never stopped learning. In studying the situation of one industrial sector or another or a specific production feature, he turned to textbooks and studied

specialized publications. Later as well, he constantly sought the advice of economic managers, economists, engineers and scientists and did not shy at asking questions about things he did not know.

Ordzhonikidze began his work in the VSNKh above all by simplifying the entire industrial management system, from top to bottom. "If we want to manage industry," he said, "we must know, above all, what is taking place within this industry. We must be thoroughly familiar with the affairs of each plant." The first step was to eliminate cumbersome associations and trusts. The central apparatus was simplified and brought closer to the local areas and its direct ties with enterprises were expanded and strengthened. Ordzhonikidze declared a decisive war on bureaucratism and irresponsibility, confusion, misunderstandings and liberalism which existed in the "multi-storied" VSNKh system. Whereas previously plant directors were considerably depersonalized and paralyzed by the petty supervision of trusts and other superior organizations, now the range of competence and responsibility of engineers, foremen and brigade leaders was expanded; henceforth the plant director became the main figure in production management and the industrial project itself became the main management link.

The principles of managing socialist industry were hammered out through practical experience in industrialization and in daily work. One such most important base of economic activities was cost accounting. "We speak and write of production quality. However, how to achieve this quality, how to obtain it?" Ordzhonikidze asked in his address at the first All-Union Conference of Workers in Socialist Industry in January 1931. He himself answered the question as follows: "No one will be properly concerned with quality without cost accounting, without obligations included in a contract, without specific material responsibility on the part of the contracting parties."

A type of approach in which management was maximally closer to the enterprise and in which the work was based on the principle of cost accounting helped to identify and utilize internal industrial reserves for the fastest possible completion of socialist industrialization. It stimulated the upsurge of labor productivity, the thrifty utilization of equipment, the reduction of production costs and improvements in production quality. This program of practical steps, which was formulated in the party's Central Committee decrees, was aimed at the comprehensive enhancement and creative activeness of the initiative of the workers and their interest in improving the work of the enterprise and their role in production management. Lenin's idea of the leading role of heavy industry in the development of the socialist economy and of large-scale machine industry as the only economic base of socialism was the pivot of this program (see op. cit., vol 45, p 209).

There was no area in the new industrial construction projects not visited by Grigoriy Konstantinovich: Magnitka, Uralmash, Kuznetsk, the Gorkiy Automotive Vehicles Plant, Balkash, Azovstal, the Stalingrad Tractors Plant, Zaporozhstal, the plants in Tula, Lipetsk, Krivoy Rog, Tagil and others. Although being in the middle of all business ties with thousands of plants and construction projects and working 14 to 16 hours daily, at the same time Sergo remained a most accessible person in the people's commissariat he headed. He

was able to inspire and mobilize the people. He strongly believed in the inexhaustible creative possibilities of the people and the socialist system, and communicated his enthusiasm to the people around him.

The creativity of the masses became the main force in the accelerated development of the industrial base of socialism. The success of the project was decided by the cadres, by people who had mastered contemporary equipment and technology and who thirstily absorbed knowledge and tried to put it to practical use. The first generation of a truly people's intelligentsia and the Soviet corps of engineers strengthened and broadened with Ordzhonikidze's most interested participation. Thousands of experienced workers, who had been released with the organization of the VSNKh apparatus, were sent to production work. Engineers and technicians left behind their offices in the plants and went to the shops, to the "line of fire" of industrial production.

As his fellow workers recall, it was difficult but captivating to work under Sergo's direction. They learned from him a party-style attitude toward the work and people, modesty and principle-mindedness. He was personally acquainted not only with the directors of the largest enterprises but also with many engineers, technicians and workers, whose work he followed and toward whom he displayed a party-minded exigency. While he guided socialist industry, Ordzhonikidze raised and daringly promoted hundreds of captains of industry, honest, loyal to the party and knowledgeable. He set the example of Bolshevik principle-mindedness and taught them how to approach any matter from governmental and party-guided positions. "...What the workers in industry need," Ordzhonikidze said, "is, above all, discipline and party-mindedness... Party-mindedness is the main thing.... Party-mindedness must come above and before anything else."

Sergo persistently demanded full responsibility from those who headed construction projects for the quality of industrial projects they delivered. On his initiative, at each such project a nucleus of the future plant management was formed. In the course of preparing the enterprises for work, they had to accept from the construction workers one shop after another and one machine unit after another. "After laying the foundation, you must display it. The director, the future owner, will see whether it is adequate and whether the walls built on it will not crumble. If the shop is finished, deliver it; if you finish a section, deliver it." Such were his rules. Ordzhonikidze, who was in constant touch with the managers of plants and construction projects, closely followed their work, trying to find bottlenecks, understand what was hindering the project and help them to correct and prevent errors. He comprehensively contributed to their growth as captains of socialist industry. To him--a party and state leader of a Leninist type--managing was inseparable from education.

At the same time, Ordzhonikidze punctured the inflated reputation of many of the old economic managers who were unable to keep up with the pace of socialist change. People without perspective, who had long stopped growing, were firmly removed from positions of enterprise management and demoted.

Within a short time Ordzhonikidze succeeded to stir up the command personnel in industry from top to bottom and to provide an impetus for intensive

creative toil. With the help of enterprise managers and party and public organizations, he succeeded in ensuring the systematic and full implementation of the directives of the party's Central Committee on national economic problems. Strict responsibility and discipline in all sectors of the front of Soviet socialist industrialization contributed to the acceleration of the process of internal consolidation and the growth of industrial output and efficient utilization of resources. However, this did not mean in the least any petty supervision or lack of autonomy in economic work. For example, Grigoriy Konstantinovich actively supported the movement of the metallurgical workers of refusing state subsidies or, in other words, making production profitable. This initiative was taken up in the other heavy industry sectors. By USSR Sovnarkom decree, dated 1 April 1936, the metallurgical and many other sectors were converted to subsidy-free work.

Another prime question was already being entered in the agenda: the fastest possible mastery of new equipment. As was noted at the joint Central Committee and TSKK VKP (b) plenum, which was held between the first and second 5-year periods, "...the second 5-year period, if it is to hope for major success, should add...to the slogan of new construction a new slogan of the mastery of new enterprises and new equipment." Among the numerous forms of manifestation of the labor activeness of the masses in the implementation of their tasks, Ordzhonikidze assigned a special role to socialist competition. "We have tremendous reserves," he said. "All that is necessary is to put them to use skillfully. The socialist competition and struggle for excellent quality workers, a struggle which is now being expanded and which must be comprehensively welcomed, and which involves propaganda, agitation and organization, must all become committed to the struggle for the mastery of the equipment." Again and again the people's commissar of heavy industry reminded production leaders of the fact that successful work largely depends on the desire and ability to rally the collectives, to respect the views of rank and file workers and to be able to extract the valuable and necessary features contained in their suggestions.

G.K. Ordzhonikidze had the rare gift of seeing the shoots of the new, the communist attitude toward labor. Finding out about the famous record set by Donetsk miner A.G. Stakhanov, followed by the records set by Gorkiy blacksmith A.Kh. Busygin and other innovators, he saw in them the beginning of a new stage in the movement of the working class for enhanced labor productivity. "The Stakhanovite movement," Sergo said, "is a brilliant star which shows us the tremendous future which lies ahead."

Nevertheless, the process of development of a collective Stakhanovite work was rather complex and required the organization of steady Stakhanovite activities in the basic production units--brigades, sections and shops--leading to a Stakhanovite plant. In assessing the possibilities of converting enterprises to Stakhanovite work while, at the same time, cautioning against haste, Grigoriy Konstantinovich explained: "The experience of individual Stakhanovites or of groups of Stakhanovites is the excellent result of such work. To go beyond that, and to bring together immediately 5 million people will not be possible. It will not be possible to make a plant Stakhanovite all of a sudden....Let us proceed tool after tool, Stakhanovite group after

Stakhanovite group, section after section and shop after shop, and then make it a Stakhanovite plant."

Ordzhonikidze never separated the movement for the Stakhanovite work method from the tasks of the party organizations in organizing the production process; he consistently demanded of every economic manager to understand the role and significance of the party organizations in industry. "The strength of our plant," he emphasized, "is that in addition to the director, there are hundreds and thousands of loyal communists who are fighting like hell for our cause..."

As M.S. Gorbachev noted, the experience acquired in economic management at that time when "the young Soviet state, literally catching up with time, was industrializing at a headlong pace," remains topical to this day. Many of the problems which were solved during the period of industrialization are facing us today, under the conditions of the country's accelerated socioeconomic development. This includes shaping in every working person the feeling that he is the master of the production process and of the entire country, the maximally full utilization of the economic possibilities of socialism, the extensive use, on a socialist basis, of commodity-monetary relations and cost-accounting, and the struggle for an upsurge in labor productivity and reduced production costs and for strengthening the discipline and engaging in the technical reconstruction of the national economy. Naturally, we live in different times, formulating and implementing our plans under different historical conditions, and in this case the approaches of the 1920s and 1930s will not do. However, even the experience of that now-distant past is helping us to solve the broad problems of the revolutionary reorganization and acceleration.

Unquestionably, the personal example set by Sergo as a manager was a tremendous force. He possessed the qualities which are particularly emphasized by the party today: true socialist enterprise, practicality, responsibility, organization, discipline, modesty, and informal and close contacts with the masses. "Sergo was a very interesting, I would even say a captivating person," A.I. Mikoyan recalls. "He was not a born speaker but had the exceptional gift immediately to establish a close, a spiritual contact with the audience and to captivate it with his sincerity, directness and simplicity. Normally calm and restrained, he became unrecognizable when he came across an obvious injustice, intrigue or lie.... He never retreated or yielded. This is what he was during the years of the revolution and the civil war and the period of building socialism."

Such is also the way Grigoriy Konstantinovich Ordzhonikidze is remembered by the people, as one of the most experienced, tempered and outstanding representatives of the working class, a Leninist-type leader, a fighter for the bright future of the country, "the most loyal and most active revolutionary," as V.I. Lenin described him as early as 1919.

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## CONTEMPORARY WORLD: TRENDS AND CONTRADICTIONS

### NO TASK IS MORE IMPORTANT: COMMUNISTS AND THE PEACE MOVEMENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 86 (signed to press 28 Oct 86) pp 98-104

[Text] One of the characteristic features of our time is the increased activities of the masses in defense of peace. The awareness of millions and millions of people of the threat presented by the nuclear-missile arms race, fatal to civilization, unleashed by aggressive militaristic imperialist circles, is leading to qualitative changes in the anti-war struggle and is triggering an unparalleled mobilization of social forces. A wide movement in support of the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the members of the socialist community, aimed at preventing a nuclear catastrophe, halting the arms race and blocking its development in outer space and for the creation of a comprehensive system of international security, return to detente and normalizing the situation in the "hot spots" of the planet, is continuing to grow in all countries.

The fact that by the fault of the U.S. administration no practical agreement was reached at the Soviet-American summit in Reykjavik created in the broad circles of the world public a particularly strong urge and vital need to join in the common struggle for normalizing the international situation and making a radical decision on the basic problems of war and peace. "...All realistic forces in the world must act now," said M.S. Gorbachev at his press conference in the Icelandic capital. "The entire population on earth--in the socialist, capitalist and developing world--has now a unique opportunity for finally truly undertaking to put an end to the arms race, ban nuclear weapons, destroy them and eliminate the nuclear threat.

The communists were and remain the most dynamic part of the peace movement. With their most energetic participation in all anti-war actions, they constantly explain to the masses the inseparable links which exist today between the struggle for peace and social progress and national liberation.

As the communists point out, lifting the threat of war and asserting the principles of peaceful coexistence, detente and disarmament, on the basis of equal and mutual security, enable us to create prerequisites for taking efficient steps against the growth of military expenditures, mass unemployment, hunger and poverty and in defense of the sovereignty of independent countries and peoples and their right to independent choice of

development. Through their entire actions world socialism and the communist and worker parties are proving that they are expressing most fully the profound expectations of mankind and remain the most systematic fighters against oppression and exploitation and for the salvation of civilization and securing the most important human right--the right to life.

"The development of the global revolutionary process and the upsurge of mass democratic and anti-war movements," the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress noted, "considerably broadened and intensified the tremendous potential of peace, reason and good will. This is a powerful counterbalance to the aggressive policy of imperialism." The unity of all peace-loving forces can reliably obstruct the plans of those who favor a continuation of the arms race and a policy of further aggravation of the international situation and who support the ideas of attaining military superiority.

Following, somewhat abridged, is a small part of documents and statements recently published by the fraternal parties, proving that the development of the struggle for the elimination of the nuclear threat, disarmament and the peaceful cooperation among nations is becoming the center of political work of the communists. These materials describe the tasks which, taking into consideration the specific conditions of their countries, are formulated by the communist parties as they mobilize the masses for increasingly active participation in anti-war actions.

From the Declaration by Herbert Mies, Chairman of the German Communist Party:

The GCP welcomes the declaration of M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, on the Soviet Union's extension of the moratorium on nuclear tests to 1 January 1987. By this token, for the fourth consecutive time, the Soviet Union has extended the moratorium, although so far no constructive reaction on Washington's part has followed. By taking this step, once again the Soviet Union emphasizes the great feeling of responsibility with which the leadership of the party and the Soviet state are approaching the safeguarding of peace. It indicates that the Soviet Union does not lose a single opportunity to break the vicious circle of the nuclear arms race and to open the door to fruitful and constructive talks with the United States on the entire set of problems of nuclear disarmament. It proves that the Soviet Union does not cease to appeal to all forces of good will and reason in the world.

We are convinced that the extension of the moratorium will meet with the same type of unanimous approval by the peace-loving forces, including our entire people, as the previous moratoriums announced by the Soviet Union. The time has finally come for the government of the FRG as well to act in accordance with the will of the majority of our people.

The statement of the official representative of the government, who rated the extension of the moratorium as a positive phenomenon, and who stated that the government of the Federal Republic will insist that the United States reach a broad agreement on ending nuclear explosions, should be followed by action.

Such an action, taken by the federal government, should include energetic political and diplomatic representations made to the government of the United States with a view to encouraging it to abandon its sluggish position. The government of the FRG should become the initiator of a common appeal addressed by all NATO countries to the United States, asking that it join in the agreement to end nuclear tests.

Such specific initiatives are even more important at a time when the official responses of the U.S. government to the new extension of the moratorium indicate that it has no intention to abandon the continuation of nuclear tests. The assertion by a representative of the administration in Washington, to the effect that a total ban on nuclear explosions is not consistent with Western interests, is nothing other than a challenge to the peace-loving forces of all nations. Anyone who cares for the salvation of mankind from nuclear catastrophe should clearly realize that a universal ban on nuclear tests is consistent with the interests of the peoples in the West and the East and with the interests of all nations, for this would make it possible to start putting an end to the nuclear arms race.

The nations demand of the United States to put an end, once and for all, to nuclear tests. This wish was expressed in the Mexico declaration of heads of state and governments of the six countries which called for peace and disarmament. That same wish of the peoples, including the people in the United States, is reflected in a number of resolutions passed by the American House of Representatives, such as the resolution on reducing expenditures for nuclear armaments which exceed the levels stipulated in SALT II, banning the resumption of the production of chemical weapons and halting nuclear explosions in excess of one kiloton.

The new extension of the Soviet moratorium is a major support of the struggle for peace in the FRG. It inspires all peace-loving forces who are trying successfully to prepare for and hold forthcoming actions and demonstrations in the defense of peace. The struggle for halting all nuclear tests is as important as opposition to the SDI program, aimed at the militarization of space....

The recent step taken by the Soviet Union strengthens the forces of the GCP in its struggle for a truly national West German policy, consistent with its Peace Charter.

UNSERE ZEIT, 20 August 1986

From the Address by Georges Marchais, Secretary General of the French Communist Party, at the Tribute to the Newspaper L'HUMANITE:

..The stockpiling of nuclear weapons has reached such a level at which the consequences of a new war would be inconceivably horrible. Hundreds of millions of people would die. Most of the planet would be wrapped in icy darkness for a long time. Agriculture would become impossible. Even those nations living at the other end of the planet, which did not participate in the war, would be affected. The entire earth would be in the grips of hunger,

cold, disease and fatal radioactivity. Entire species of flora and fauna would disappear. All of this confirms the insane and suicidal nature of the arms race to mankind, the more so since, as the unfortunate experiences of the Chernobyl accident, the loss of the space ship Challenger and the destruction of the Ariane rocket prove, the possibility of human error or technical fault are always present. Even if no conflict breaks out, an accident may take place and a catastrophe may occur.

Faced with such incredible risk, intensified by the prospect of the militarization of outer space, the only sensible demand is to halt the escalation of the arms race and reduce existing stockpiles of weapons, so that their total elimination may be then undertaken. The huge funds wasted on this deadly race should be channeled into the struggle against hunger, disease, poverty and unemployment the world over, including our country. Our objective is a world without weapons and wars and cooperation and friendship among nations. We are working for further progress in that direction.

We know that extensive and varied forces are working for peace in all continents. In France the peace-loving public as well has begun to mobilize its forces.... We are inspired by the new opportunities for progress which are appearing today in this great undertaking.

Last August, at their Mexico meeting, the heads of states and governments of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden formulated specific proposals on ending nuclear tests. They announced their readiness immediately to participate in controlling a bilateral moratorium and warned of the danger of the militarization of space.

Furthermore, the nonaligned countries, the socialist countries in Europe and Asia, the Scandinavian, Balkan and Mediterranean countries, the heads of states of different beliefs and all kinds of political and religious organizations are ever more energetically, each one in its own way, appealing for disarmament.

As M.S. Gorbachev's declaration shows, the Soviet Union has formulated a number of specific steps aimed at totally eliminating nuclear weapons by the year 2000, destroying chemical weapons, and reducing conventional armaments and medium-range missiles in Europe, and has submitted a plan for the peaceful development of space. More than a year has passed since the USSR unilaterally halted all nuclear tests. It has now decided to extend its nuclear moratorium until 1 January 1987.

The suggestions of the Soviet Union and its very daring stance are, unquestionably, full of common sense. Many countries and organizations have emphasized the positive nature of these proposals and expressed their support of them. The same applies to us....

We intend to hold broad discussions even more persistently and pursue joint actions with those who want peace and to demand even more emphatically that France act more energetically in favor of disarmament.

Furthermore, as a nation on the European continent which, judging by all that we know, would be destroyed in the case of a nuclear cataclysm, we consider that the time has come, on this level as well, to rally the common efforts even further.....

Some positive changes have taken place of late. New opportunities have appeared. We wish that all these forces--communist, socialist, social democratic and other parties, which share common concerns, peace movements, trade union and religious organizations and various associations--meet and exchange views and consider jointly possibilities of making progress in the areas of disarmament, detente and peace in Europe.

We know perfectly well that no one has a monopoly on the true road to success. However, all of these forces, while maintaining their individuality, could jointly do a great deal for the cause of peace and see to it come out the winner.

L'HUMANITE, 15 September 1985

From the Speech by Alessandro Natti, Secretary General of the Italian Communist Party, at the Tribute to the Newspaper UNITA:

..The path taken by rightwing forces in international affairs leads to dangerous consequences. Even within the ranks of the Reagan administration conflicts have broken out between the views held by extremists and moderates. We were entirely right by opposing "hawks" of all types, for there is no alternative to detente.

We emphasized with full justification that the process of detente, most firmly supported by the new Soviet leadership which amended some of its previous concepts, has encountered most serious obstacles. Shame on anyone who has accused the European peace movements of engaging in useless or, worse, irresponsible, actions. It is only the actions of those who have abandoned any independent views, those who express "their opinion" only after the government of one great power or another has announced its decision, of those who have been unable to realize the danger on time, the danger of the deployment of missiles and with which the plans for the militarization of space are fraught, have been useless and irresponsible...

We appeal for a new and powerful unified movement for disarmament, detente and guaranteed peace. Differences on this matter are fatal. The cause of peace is a common cause for all: believers and nonbelievers, bourgeois and proletarians. Italy can do more, Europe can do more for a summit meeting to be held between the heads of the two greatest powers, and for effective talks on disarmament to be started, based on a moratorium on nuclear tests, observed by both sides.

We, however, must continue the struggle, for the moment the pressure applied by the people weakens the dangers increase. We must wage the struggle for a just settlement of the tragic problems which have caused wars and hotbeds of war in the world and against all types of oppressions and persecutions, with

new energy. The comrades from the Italian Communist Youth Federation acted properly by choosing as the main topic of their forum the African tragedy, apartheid in particular. All of us must follow this path, for without the elimination of an injustice, such as monstrous inequality, no lasting international peace will prevail.

UNITA, 15 September 1986

**Appeal by the Portuguese Communist Party Central Committee for the Struggle for Peace:**

The problems of war and peace continue to occupy the central position in international life. The facts prove that the Reagan administration is not interested in disarmament and detente and is stubbornly pursuing a line of arms race and aggravation of international tension, believing this to be the way leading to reaching its objectives: social revenge and world hegemony. In pursuing its militaristic and aggressive policy, imperialism, U.S. imperialism above all, bears the responsibility for the real threat of thermonuclear catastrophe hanging over mankind....

The danger which stems from such an adventuristic policy is tremendous. In the nuclear age there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence. Peace on the planet is a condition for the survival of mankind itself. The PCP considers the proposals formulated by the USSR and the other socialist countries regarding disarmament (ending and banning nuclear tests, preventing the militarization of space, total elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000 and creation of a comprehensive international security system) a contribution to the defense of peace the world over of the greatest significance....

In order to justify the arms race, neutralize the discontent triggered throughout the world by its aggressive policy and draw the attention away from the suggestions and initiatives formulated by the USSR and the other socialist countries on the subject of disarmament, imperialism has mounted a fierce campaign for the indoctrination of public opinion, as exemplified by the coordinated activities on the subject of "terrorism" and the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant accident.

The safeguard of peace demands decisive joint or parallel actions by all forces of social progress and peace which favor an end to the arms race and the elimination of nuclear, chemical and other mass destruction weapons and which oppose the militarization of outer space. Ending and banning nuclear tests has become an urgent task in the struggle for disarmament.

Imperialism cannot and will be unable to turn back global developments leading to the liberation of the working people and the nations.

The socialist countries are the main factor of social progress and defense of peace.

The 27th CPSU Congress and the congresses of the ruling parties of the other socialist countries, which took place this year, enabled us to make a profound

study of the distance covered and to assess the current situation and the future of socialism. The implementation of the 5-year plans by the USSR and the other socialist countries will be a new confirmation of the superiority of socialism over capitalism and of its tremendous possibility of meeting the aspirations and expectations of the working class and the popular masses and of its decisive role in defending peace on Earth....

Through all possible means--military, political, economic and financial--imperialism is trying to hinder progress in the liberation struggle waged by the working people and the nations, and to turn it back. However, despite uneven and sporadic developments and successes and retreats, the struggle waged by the working people and the nations on all continents proves on a daily basis that the development of the world is irreversibly following the path of independence, democracy, social progress, socialism and peace.

The struggle for peace and the prevention of a real threat of nuclear catastrophe has become the main and urgent task today, a task shared by the working people and nations the world over.

In Portugal the struggle for peace is inseparable from that in defense of the gains of the April revolution and against the policy of Portugal's subordination to imperialism, and for a democratic turn in the country's life. An independent foreign policy of peace and cooperation with all nations is the greatest possible contribution which Portugal could make to the cause of peace.

Nevertheless, the seriousness of the situation calls for continuing and intensifying the struggle for objectives shared by all nations and for strengthening our solidarity with peoples which are victims of imperialist intervention and aggression.

Our own experience indicates that the unification in this sector of the struggle by the broadest possible democratic masses and population strata is possible. The PCP will continue to apply efforts for the positive trends in this area to be strengthened and for even broader and mass steps to be taken.

We should not ignore the fact that easing the current international tension and a turn to detente and peaceful coexistence would create the most favorable conditions for the struggle waged by the Portuguese people in the defense and consolidation of the gains of the April revolution....

The struggle for democracy and national independence is inseparable from the struggle for peace.

The PCP calls upon the working class, the working people, all democrats and patriots to intensify even further their activities and to join efforts so that, together with the peoples the world over, an end may be put to the arms race, a process of disarmament initiated, and the threat of nuclear catastrophe hanging over mankind decisively lifted.

This is in the interest of all nations in the world. It is in the interest of the Portuguese people and of Portugal.

AVANTE!, 19 June 1986

From the Appeal of the Venezuelan Communist Party Central Committee:

greatest of which is that of the self-destruction of mankind in the case of a thermonuclear conflict, in which there would be neither winners nor losers but only dead.

In answer to the efforts of the Soviet Union and its one-sided moratorium on nuclear explosions until 1 January 1987, the American administration announced that the United States would pursue its new strategic offensive, known as the "star wars" program.

Mankind hopes that reason will prevail and that the suggestion made by the USSR on the elimination of all types of mass destruction weapons by the year 2000, with a view to rescuing the planet from the nightmare of a global nuclear conflict, will be implemented.

To this effect, all of us who want peace and are fighting for it, must unite within an indissoluble international front, which would make a firm and lasting peace possible. In our country as well we must take steps in this direction.

That is why the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela appeals to all regional and local committees and all primary organizations and party members to mount initiatives in this area in residential districts, factories, schools, colleges, universities, trade unions and federations of working people.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela also turns to all Venezuelans, regardless of political and ideological views or religious beliefs, with the appeal persistently to act in favor of universal peace and for rescuing mankind from the nuclear threat.

TRIBUNA POPULAR, 2 Oct 1986

From the Declaration of the Central Secretariat of the Indian Communist Party:

..The Central Secretariat of the Indian Communist Party expresses its serious concern caused by the lack of practical agreements reached in Reykjavik between M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and Ronald Reagan, the U.S. President, caused by the stubborn position held by the American side and its total refusal to end nuclear tests and the implementation of the "star wars" plans.

The Reykjavik meeting proved once again that the U.S. administration is continuing to cling to the old objective: to achieve by all means military superiority over the USSR. At that meeting the Soviet Union submitted a historical proposal which applies to both countries: to reduce strategic armaments by 50 percent and totally eliminate all medium range missiles--

American as well as Soviet--in Europe. The USSR called upon the United States to end practical steps for the militarization of space and to limit itself only to laboratory research. However, President Reagan rejected this last suggestion.

It is becoming entirely clear that the American side is unwilling to take any urgent action to end the arms race on Earth and in space. It puts attaining military superiority above the peaceful future of all mankind. Not accidental, in this connection, is the fact that Ronald Reagan categorically rejected the appeal of the "Delhi Six" and the nonaligned movement, of taking specific disarmament steps.

The Indian Communist Party believes that it is important today to mount an even more powerful mass campaign for peace with a view to exerting pressure on the U.S. administration. In the face of the dangerous course followed by Washington, the Indian government should help to mobilize world public opinion, the nonaligned countries in particular, in support of demands for a total ban on nuclear tests and the nonadmission of nuclear weapons in outer space.

NEW AGE, 19 October 1986

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## HARARE: MAJOR SUCCESS OF THE NONALIGNED MOVEMENT

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[Article by Ye. Kobelev]

[Text] The 8th Conference of Heads of States and Governments of Nonaligned Countries was held in Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe, the youngest sovereign country in Africa, on 1-7 September. Its proceedings were attended by delegations of about 100 countries and national liberation movements and numerous representatives of governmental and international organizations, invited as guests and observers.

The participants in the Harare forum discussed a broad range of topical problems which agitate mankind, above all those related to the struggle against the threat of nuclear war, the defense of peace and the elimination of the last bastions of colonialism in South Africa. They spoke out in favor of solving peacefully conflict situations in various parts of the world and called for the establishment of a new just international economic order. The views held by the nonaligned movement on all such problems were reflected in the final documents adopted at the conference, which included two, by now traditional, basic documents: a political and an economic declaration, the "Harare Appeal," addressed to the leaders of the USSR and the United States, a declaration on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the nonaligned movement, a special declaration on South Africa, a declaration on strengthening collective actions, a program of action for economic cooperation, and others.

The preparations for and proceedings of the Harare conference took place under difficult circumstances. The imperialist powers and their agents tried, if not to wreck, at least maximally to complicate it. Shortly before the meeting, the South African racists mounted air strikes at the "frontline states" in the southern part of Africa and a major diversionary action in Harare itself. The local press wrote of possible terrorist actions to be committed in the Zimbabwe capital by South African agents. At the same time, the Pretoria regime, using the circumstance that about 90 percent of Zimbabwe's exports and 80 percent of its imports cross the Republic of South Africa, imposed an economic blockade against that country. This was approved

by the administration in Washington which, while the summit meeting was taking place, announced a freezing of American economic aid to Zimbabwe.

On the eve of the Harare conference, the reactionary Western circles mounted a massed political and propaganda offensive against the nonaligned countries, in an effort to force them to abandon their anti-imperialist positions and their active and positive influence on the international situation in the interests of the peace, security and freedom of the peoples. The bourgeois press was generous in making sinister forecasts on the outcome of the meeting, predicting discord and friction among its participants, and speculating on the fact that allegedly the leadership of the young republic of Zimbabwe was insufficiently experienced in hosting such an important international forum.

However, the hopes of those who were counting on the failure of the conference were dashed. Naturally, a certain stress was felt in the Zimbabwe capital while the conference was taking place. Armored personnel carriers steadily patrolled the main highway leading to the Sheraton Hotel--an ultramodern building where the meetings of the heads of states and governments of nonaligned countries were taking place. Anti-aircraft guns were positioned in trenches dug in the park adjacent to the hotel.

However, it was not this that gave the city its appearance. Beautiful springtime Harare welcomed the numerous foreign delegations with banners and posters. It amazed them with its model order, cleanliness and organization. The hundreds of jakaranda trees--the main symbol of the Zimbabwe capital--were topped by picturesque crowns of bright-violet color, precisely at the time the forum began its proceedings, as though underlining the solemnity of the moment.

Harare's guests could see for themselves that thanks to the weighed policy of the government headed by R. Mugabe, leader of the ZANU-PF Party, racial discrimination had been eliminated in Zimbabwe and that the country was an example of how to put an end to racism and successfully build a democratic state in which everyone enjoys equal rights, regardless of the color of his skin. Yet it was only six years ago that Zimbabwe reminded one of a boiling cauldron, similar to what South Africa and Namibia are today.

The 8th Conference of Heads of States and Governments of Nonaligned Countries took place on a high organizational and political level. The study of its documents fully justifies the conclusion that it marked an important step forward in strengthening the cohesion among these countries in the struggle for the better future of mankind and their increased role in world affairs. The Harare forum proved once again that the nonaligned movement has become a powerful and influential international force and a major instrument in strengthening the political and economic independence of developing countries. It is making a major contribution in the struggle for peace, disarmament and preventing nuclear war, and against imperialism, colonialism and racism.

A particularly sharp topic discussed in Harare was the struggle for peace and disarmament. Awareness of the urgent need to enhance the struggle for the prevention of nuclear catastrophe was felt in the speeches of virtually all participants. The majority of delegates rejected the concept supported by some

circles of the so-called "equal responsibility of the two superpowers" for the aggravation of the situation in the world. In Harare even representatives of countries maintaining close ties with the United States did not risk to oppose including in the sections of the documents on nuclear disarmament a condemnation of the policy of the Reagan administration on this matter.

The heads of states and governments of the nonaligned countries welcomed in their political declaration the program for gradual nuclear disarmament, formulated by the Soviet Union, which they described as "comprehensive and timely." "The objectives and tasks of this program, which calls for the total elimination of nuclear weapons on earth by all nuclear powers by the end of the century," they noted, "is essentially consistent with the views systematically held by the nonaligned countries on such matters." The participants in the conference also "welcomed the unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests proclaimed by the USSR in August 1985, and extended on several subsequent occasions, including the latest extension until 1 January 1987," and called upon the United States to join in the moratorium.

The joint support expressed by nearly 100 members of the nonaligned movement for the Soviet nuclear disarmament program and moratorium on nuclear tests is of exceptionally important and basic significance under current circumstances. It indicates that these countries will reject the efforts of the United States to avoid, using various far-fetched pretexts and stipulations, a practical consideration of the Soviet peace initiatives, which are acts of tremendous political importance, dictated by the high feeling of responsibility felt by the Soviet Union for the peaceful future of mankind. Their implementation would rescue our planet from the threat of self-destruction, strengthen peace and open broad opportunities for the socioeconomic development of all countries and peoples. The participants in the Harare conference, who condemned the intentions of the Washington administration to violate SALT II, demanded of it to reconsider its position.

The profound concern expressed by the nonaligned countries for the destinies of peace were also manifested in the fact that, for the first time after the Belgrade conference, they deemed necessary to address themselves to the heads of both great powers--to M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and to U.S. President Ronald Reagan--with an appeal. "Never before," the document states, "has mankind come so closely to self-destruction. The choice today is not between war and peace but between life and death. This makes the struggle for peace and the prevention of nuclear war the main task of our time." The heads of states and governments of nonaligned countries called upon the USSR and the United States and the other nuclear powers to take immediate steps to prevent nuclear war and to pursue the dialogue with a view to ending the arms race and reaching real agreements in the area of disarmament, including agreements on preventing the arms race in space and on a permanent moratorium on nuclear tests.

It is necessary to point out that the imperial and aggressive course of the administration in Washington toward the nonaligned countries and its scorn for the destinies of peace and mankind were condemned at the conference, as reflected in its documents. Observers note that the United States is openly mentioned in a negative sense in these documents 54 times (as compared to 30

times in the documents of the New Delhi conference and 14 times at the Havana conference). In an effort to justify U.S. policy, the American press is trying to lay the blame on someone else. On the one hand, it is doing everything possible to belittle the significance of the Harare forum. On the other, it accuses the nonaligned movement of abandoning the "principle of equidistance" and of "steady radicalization" and its conversion into an "anti-American mob."

In explaining the reasons for which the policy of the American administration was so harshly condemned, R. Mugabe, chairman of the nonaligned movement, read a long list of aggressive U.S. actions. He pointed out the intervention against Grenada, the attack on Libya, the military aid given to the terrorist UNITA group in Angola and to the contra gangs in Nicaragua and interference in the affairs of El Salvador. It is precisely the policy of "constructive cooperation" between Washington and the Pretoria regime that is encouraging the racists in intensifying the repressive measures against the country's native population and engaging in piratical actions against the "frontline states." Asked by Western correspondents why the conference documents contained so much criticism of the United States, R. Gandhi, the Indian prime minister, answered that this reflects the discontent of the nonaligned countries with Washington's current international policy.

Against this background, the views held by the participants in the Harare conference toward the Soviet Union was in sharp contrast. They were greatly impressed by the message of greetings which M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, addressed to Chairman Mugabe. They welcomed with profound satisfaction the high rating of the nonaligned movement contained in the message, which described it as a powerful force against war, aggression, imperialism, colonialism and racism, a force which increases the potential of peace, reason and good will. In this connection, the Zimbabwe press noted that whereas the participants in the Harare forum received from the Soviet Union warm greetings and wishes of success in its work, what came from the United States was the decision of the American administration to end economic aid to Zimbabwe, supported by poorly concealed threats.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo, which discussed at its meeting information on the results of the 8th Conference of Heads of States and Governments of Nonaligned Countries, noted that the Soviet Union considers these results a major success of the nonaligned movement. In accepting the text of the Harare Appeal, presented by a special representative of R. Mugabe, chairman of the nonaligned movement, M.S. Gorbachev emphasized that the appeal, like the other documents of the conference, is consistent with the line of the Soviet Union aimed at the elimination of the nuclear threat, reaching a just settlement of regional conflicts, securing the rights of nations to free and independent development and economic independence and equal international cooperation. The Soviet leader stated that, by respecting the independent policy of the movement and of each one of its participants, the Soviet Union remains open to cooperation and interaction with them in solving topical contemporary problems.

Even before the opening of the Harare conference it was obvious that one of the main problems on which the attention of the heads of states and

governments of nonaligned countries would be focused would be the struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism and, in particular, the situation in the southern part of Africa. This is understandable, for Zimbabwe is the northern neighbor of the Republic of South Africa, sharing with it a common border several hundred kilometers long. The breath of the tragic events occurring in South Africa was steadily felt in Harare. Every day the Zimbabwe press reported on ever new crimes committed by the racist regime in Pretoria and on dozens of new victims of the terrorism and illegality prevailing in that country.

Naturally, the explosive situation in southern Africa was considered more extensively and comprehensively than ever before. No single speaker omitted to condemn the monstrous apartheid system in South Africa or to appeal to the world community to increase its efforts to abolish the racist regime. The basic reason for the conflict in the southern part of Africa, the speakers said, is apartheid, which seriously threatens international peace and security.

The distinguishing feature of the speeches on the problems of southern Africa was the aspiration of the participants in the nonaligned movement to take practical steps to restrain and abolish apartheid. "It is time for the nonaligned movement... to turn to action with a view to destroying apartheid," said Benin President M. Kerekou. "The fight for liberation in South Africa," said Mengistu Haile-Mariam, chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Ethiopia, "has spread throughout the country. It is becoming increasingly difficult for the Pretoria regime to control the situation. Under these circumstances, the members of the nonaligned movement must increase their financial and material support to the South African and Namibian patriots in order to uproot the apartheid system and to accelerate Namibian decolonization." The participants in the forum welcomed with tempestuous applause the speech by Fidel Castro, Cuba's leader, on the internationalist contribution made by Cuba to normalizing the situation in Africa and providing real aid to Angola and other African countries in repelling imperialist aggression and strengthening their political and economic independence.

Solutions to the problems of southern Africa were considered in three aspects in the political and special declarations: granting independence to Namibia, eliminating the system of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa and putting an end to the aggressive actions of the Pretoria regime against the "fronline states."

The illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist regime of the Republic of South Africa was described as an act of aggression against the Namibian people. The participants in the conference spoke out in favor of the immediate implementation of Resolution 435 of the UN Security Council, which calls for granting independence to Namibia, and firmly rejected the efforts of the U.S. administration and the racist Republic of South Africa to "link" the implementation of the UN plan for Namibia to the "question of the withdrawal of Cuban internationalist forces from Angola, which is a side issue inappropriate in this case." They called upon all members of the nonaligned movement to increase their aid to the Southwest African People's Organization

(SWAPO) as the "only true representative of the people of Namibia." At the same time, the participants in the conference once again condemned the so-called Namibian "provisional government," put together by the South African occupation forces, and called upon the world community to continue its non-recognition of this government, whatever its shape.

It is important to note that with the active support of the socialist countries, the resolutions adopted at the Harare forum had a positive influence on the UN General Assembly Special Session on Namibia, which was held in New York at the end of September last. Its participants spoke in favor of adopting comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Republic of South Africa which is refusing to grant independence to the Namibian people. They called upon the UN Security Council to take urgent steps for the immediate and unconditional holding of free democratic elections in Namibia under the aegis of the United Nations, with the participation of SWAPO, which represents the true interests of the country's population.

After considering the current situation in the Republic of South Africa, the heads of states and governments of nonaligned countries confirmed their "resolve to uproot the vicious system of apartheid by taking special steps aimed at accelerating its total elimination." In this connection, they called upon the UN Security Council immediately to introduce comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the republic of South Africa, as the "only peaceful way of forcing the racist Pretoria regime to abandon apartheid" and demanded that the United States and Great Britain, who are permanent members of the UN Security Council and who have so far blocked the adoption of such measures, reconsider their position. The participants in the Harare forum also called upon all countries to increase their material assistance and political support to "the oppressed and struggling people of South Africa through its national liberation movements, so that this people can increase its struggle against apartheid and for the creation of a non-racial representative government in South Africa."

The policy of state terrorism and aggression practiced by the racist Republic of South Africa toward the "frontline states" was sharply criticized in Harare; the policy of "constructive cooperation" with the regime of apartheid, practiced by the United States, was firmly condemned, for it encourages the racists to commit impudent acts of aggression against neighboring independent countries. The political declaration includes the demand that the Republic of South Africa withdraw immediately, totally and unconditionally its troops from the occupied part of Angolan territory, to stop its armed attacks on Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe and its attempts to destabilize the situation in Mozambique.

The conference in Harare marked an important turn in the history of the nonaligned movement: its conversion to practically aimed actions in the struggle for the elimination of the apartheid regime in South Africa. A 13-point program of comprehensive political and economic sanctions against South Africa was adopted. It is rated by observers as a major action by the nonaligned countries and, if consistently implemented, it could bring about a substantial weakening in the positions of the racist Pretoria regime. The second important decision of the conference in support of sanctions was the

creation of a "foundation for counteracting aggression, colonialism and apartheid." Its main objectives will be "to strengthen the economic and financial potential of the frontline states in the struggle against the apartheid regime in Pretoria and to support the liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia and their unabated struggle against racist and colonial oppression."

It was no accident that the representatives of the patriotic organizations in Namibia--SWAPO--and in South Africa--the African National Congress (ANC)--enjoyed tremendous popularity at the conference. A significant number of nonaligned countries announced in the course of the conference their official diplomatic recognition of SWAPO and their intention to provide it with additional material aid. Although unlike SWAPO the ANC is so far not officially a member of the nonaligned movement, its representatives were treated as actual full members of the conference and in the steps it adopted; they were given extensive opportunities to explain the just objectives of their struggle and to ensure the further strengthening of their international positions.

The very nature of the discussions of the problem of southern Africa--decisive, constructive and efficient--and the universal acknowledgement of the patriotic organizations in southern Africa and Namibia as the true representatives of their countries and peoples, and the fact that Zimbabwe--a "frontline state" which is at the advanced line in the struggle against apartheid was given the chair of the nonaligned movement for the next 3 years--generated a mood of optimism in Harare and the firm confidence that the apartheid regime in the Republic of South Africa is doomed.

In addition to the situation in southern Africa, the participants in the conference discussed the one developing in the Middle East, the Mediterranean and Central America. The political declaration notes that a just and general peace in the Middle East can be based only on the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and the restoration of all the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

The heads of states and governments of nonaligned countries characterized the piratical military actions of the United States against Libya as "state terrorism" and demanded of the Reagan administration the full and immediate compensation for the damages caused to that country. Profound indignation was expressed in connection with the decision of the American Congress to appropriate \$100 million to finance the Nicaragua contras.

The participants in the conference, who rejected the efforts of the Reagan administration to justify its criminal actions as "struggle against international terrorism," particularly emphasized that the legitimate struggle of peoples oppressed by colonialism and racism, particularly in South Africa, Namibia and Palestine, and other national liberation movements, should in no case be considered terrorism or identified with it.

The discussion of problems of economic development of the nonaligned countries occupied an important place in the work of the Harare forum. The speakers

noted with concern the continuing dangerous trend of the widening gap in levels of economic development between developing and developed countries. This is occurring, the speakers said, above all by the fault of international imperialism, which is engaged in the shameless plunder of developing countries through neocolonialist exploitation of their natural resources and as a result of the uncontrolled operation of multinational corporations and banks in those countries. "The truth is," said Zimbabwe Prime Minister R. Mugabe, "that the economy of the developing South subsidizes the economy of the developed North." Peruvian President Alan Garcia openly described economic relations between Western and developing countries as "economic apartheid," in which discrimination toward poorer countries prevails."

Fidel Castro provided a profound and scientifically accurate analysis of the nature of economic colonialism as practiced by the United States and other Western countries. The nonaligned countries which, throughout their history, have been subjected to colonial oppression and now to neocolonialist plunder, he pointed out, need not only peace but also for the means currently used for destruction to be channeled into development. "The huge foreign indebtedness of the developing countries, which is nearly \$1 trillion," Fidel Castro said, "although exceptionally high is only 5.8 percent of the cost of armaments in the post war period and would simply not have existed."

With every passing year the developing countries are suffering increasingly from unequal trade and the arbitrary behavior of multinational corporations. In 1980-1985 alone, these countries lost \$104 billion as a result of adverse trade, and more than \$120 billion because of higher bank interest rates.

In the course of the debates on economic problems, the delegates suggested that decisive steps be taken to correct the developing situation. Thus, D. Ratsiraka, the president of Madagascar, called upon the members of the nonaligned movement to refuse to pay their foreign debts or else to declare a 10-year moratorium on repayment. However, the economies of the majority of nonaligned countries are very closely tied to the world capitalist economy on which they depend, which largely determined the compromised economic declaration which contains an appeal for finding mutually acceptable solutions in the areas of monetary relations, indebtedness and trade.

A fact of essential significance is that the nonaligned movement closely linked problems of disarmament with development, thus strengthening the overall potential for peace. The arms race, the nuclear arms race in particular, the economic declaration notes, leads to general instability, particularly in the liberated countries. A planned and orderly development is possible only under the conditions of peace and cooperation. The nonaligned countries favor an immediate halt to the arms race and the adoption of urgent disarmament measures, in order to release human, material and technological resources for development needs.

The participants in the Harare forum, who discussed trade restrictions, blockades, embargos and other coercive measures taken against the liberated countries, and called upon the United States and its allies to abandon the use of such dishonest methods. The international financial organizations--the IMF and the IBRD--related to American capital, were criticized for being guided by

self-seeking interests in determining the conditions under which loans are granted and for their failure to take into consideration the vital needs of development of the young independent states.

The economic declaration emphasizes the urgency of establishing an equitable and just world economic system by instituting a new international economic order with a view to promoting progress in all liberated countries. The declaration concentrates on the need to resume the "North-South" dialogue in order to find a solution to the severe economic situation. A decision was made to set up a permanent committee for economic cooperation, to coordinate the activities of nonaligned countries in holding the "North-South" dialogue. At the same time, the participants in the conference proclaimed the growing importance of enhancing the "South-South" dialogue and comprehensively to intensify trade and economic cooperation among the developing countries themselves. Agreement was reached on holding a "South-South" conference in Pyongyang, the capital of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, in 1987.

A noteworthy event at the Harare forum was the 25 anniversary of the founding of the nonaligned movement. At the anniversary meeting, on 1 September, the speakers noted that, having gained valuable experience, today the movement has much greater opportunities for implementing assignments and performing its "historical mission of assisting in the establishment of a new just and democratic world order." In a special declaration, the participants in the Harare conference solemnly proclaimed that the movement will continue to direct its efforts at the elimination of racism and all vestiges of colonialism, the creation of a world without wars and a policy of active peaceful coexistence, universal detente, an end to the arms race and universal disarmament.

For the first time in the history of the nonaligned movement, the dissatisfaction of some of its participants with the "inefficiency" of the activities of the movement and the nonimplementation of many of the decisions passed by heads of states and governments was clearly manifested in Harare. For example, Congo President D. Sassou-Nguesso, expressed the wish that there would be "less rhetoric and more action" in the activities of the movement. Cyprus President S. Kyprianou called for establishing a special committee to draft steps aimed at upgrading the movement's efficiency.

In response to the critical statements, the conference passed a document new to the nonaligned movement: a declaration on intensifying collective action. Any political or economic intervention and aggression against a nonaligned country, the document notes, is a threat to the principles of peaceful coexistence supported by the movement and must be firmly condemned. The declaration includes the essential stipulation that aggression or the threat of use of force against any one of the nonaligned countries should be considered an act directed against the entire movement.

In its 25 years of existence the nonaligned movement has achieved noticeable successes and, unquestionably, will achieve further successes in the future. This requires, above all, unity and cohesion within its ranks and the solution of common problems. However, it is precisely this that is not always accomplished. Frequently, some members of the movement adopt a passive

attitude to blackmail and pressure, economic in particular, exerted by American imperialism and its allies.

It should not be forgotten that the nonaligned movement is by no means an idyllic association of countries. The quite heterogenous nature of its members, ranging from feudal monarchies to socialist countries, presumes differences in their approaches to one problem or another. That is why discussions in Harare were sharp and, on some problems, no agreement was reached. This applies above all to the Iran-Iraq conflict. This senseless bloodshedding war between two participants in the nonaligned movement who, it would seem, have identical domestic national tasks, has lasted more than 6 years. During all that time the nonaligned movement has been unsuccessfully trying to promote a peaceful solution to the conflict. The mediating effort made in Harare also ended in failure.

Despite long debates, the problem of where to hold the next, ninth conference of heads of states and governments of nonaligned countries, remained unsolved. The main candidate was Nicaragua, which was supported by a considerable number of participants, as a country which had earned high international reputation with its dedicated struggle for independence and freedom. However, the principle of "consensus," i.e., of unanimous agreement, operates in the movement. In the final account, the participants decided to postpone the discussion of this problem until the meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of nonaligned countries in 1988.

Thus, a very important line has been crossed in the quarter-century-old historical path of the nonaligned movement. The results of the Harare meeting indicated most clearly that despite the great political variety of the countries within the movement, it is displaying growing political maturity and stability and is continuing to intensify its anti-war, anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist trends.

The resolve expressed by the participants in the Harare forum of focusing their efforts on the struggle for the prevention of nuclear war, elimination of nuclear weapons and strengthening international security was a new assertion of the fact that the activities of the movement are consistent with the vital aspirations of all mankind. At the same time, the Harare conference made a significant contribution to shaping in the nonaligned countries a new type of political thinking, consistent with the realities of the nuclear space age. This is a guarantee that not only at the present stage but also in the future, the movement will be able to play an increasingly positive role in world politics and on the side of the forces of peace and progress in their difficult and noble struggle for a peaceful and happy future.

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## BOOK REVIEWS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

### THE REALISM OF CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT AS OPPOSED TO DANGEROUS ILLUSIONS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 86 (signed to press 28 Oct 86) pp 114-116

[Review by Col Gen N. Chervov, chief of administration, USSR Armed Forces General Staff, Candidate of Military Sciences, of the book "Kosmicheskoye Oruzhiye: Dilemma Bezopasnosti" [Space Weapons: The Dilemma of Security]. Ye.P. Velikhov, R.Z. Sagdeyev and A.A. Kokoshin, editors. Mir, Moscow, 1986, 182 pp]

[Text] More than ever before, the policy of the present administration in Washington has created a real danger of an extension of the arms race to space. This problem is related, above all, to the program for the so-called "Strategic Defense Initiative" (SDI), known as "star wars," aimed at deploying a vast anti-missile defense system with space-based elements. This program is clearly oriented toward attaining military superiority over the Soviet Union and the economic exhaustion of the USSR. Such are the White House plans.

The negative role of the SDI is convincingly confirmed by the results of the Soviet-American Reykjavik meeting. This meeting was a real clash between two opposite approaches to world politics, which included problems of banning nuclear weapons, ending the arms race and, furthermore, preventing its escalation into space. The American pursuit of the "star" ghost goes quite far, increasingly worsening and complicating the world situation. The stubborn unwillingness of the U.S. administration to ban the development, testing and deployment of a broad anti-missile defense system echeloned in space is an unprecedented manifestation of imperial ambitions.

In recent years, increasingly broader social strata are becoming involved in the active struggle for security on earth and in outer space and for preserving and strengthening the implementation of the Soviet-American 1972 treaty on limiting anti-missile defense systems. The role played by scientists in this struggle has increased.

After Reykjavik, the American political circles related to the military-industrial complex, which is extracting tremendous profits from military orders, are doing everything possible to confuse the people and control the mood of a significant share of the world public, dampen its thrust toward peace and prevent the governments of other countries from assuming a clear

stance in this decisive moment in history. These circles have at their disposal political power, economic levers and powerful information media. "We should not overestimate their strength. However, nor should we underestimate it," M.S. Gorbachev said in his 22 October speech on Soviet television. He drew attention to the quick changes and disordinated reactions to Reykjavik overseas. "This is either a confusion or preplanned swindling of simple people," the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary said. "Various explanations of the objectives which were formulated before the meeting are being heard. There was a fast and united switch from cursing Reykjavik to enthusiasm. A fussy campaign to appropriate suggestions made by others was mounted. The main forces were concentrated on defending the SDI, which was put to shame at Reykjavik. Generally speaking, currently Washington is in a state of turmoil."

In the light of this situation, the recently published book under review, edited by Ye.P. Velikhov, member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the Committee of Soviet Scientists for Peace and Against the Nuclear Threat, and two of his committee deputies, Academician R.Z. Sagdeyev and Dr. of Historical Sciences A.A. Kokoshin, is noteworthy. This is like a summation of 4 years of studies. In addition to the scientists we named, the authors of this book include not only major personalities in Soviet science and technology but also relatively young researchers. They include Dr. of Juridical Sciences Prof V.S. Vereshchetin, a noted specialist in space law, S.N. Rodionov, candidate of physical and mathematical sciences, A.A. Vasilyev, candidate of technical sciences and USSR State Prize recipient, and many other specialists. Consultants included Retired Col Gen Prof N.A. Lomov, former deputy chief of General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR, Retired Lt Gen Prof M.A. Milsteyn, Academician B.V. Raushenbakh, a fellow worker of S.P. Korolev's, and other noted specialists and scientists.

This collective work provides a thorough study of a broad range of problems, such as the potential combat components of the space echelon of a broad anti-missile system (various types of laser weapons, ray weapons, kinetic weapons, weapons whose action is similar to that of electromagnetic pulse released by a nuclear explosion), possible variants of combat space stations of an anti-missile system, their technical and operative reliability, and special aspects of structuring systems for the interception of ballistic missiles at the final segment of their trajectory by ground or air-based means.

Problems related to subsystems for securing the functioning of the combat components of an anti-missile system are analyzed much more profoundly and thoroughly than in many foreign publications of this nature. This includes, in particular, the development of a detection and targeting subsystem involving the use of various devices, checkered infra-red receivers, active detection systems, etc.

An interesting section deals with combat control system. It considers various possible choices for structuring such a system, including the related problem of its vulnerability (see pp 101-115).

The authors justifiably note that the means used for targeting, communications and combat control (which, incidentally, account for the lion's share of all

budget appropriations for the SDI program) are the most vulnerable part of such a potential system. They note the large number of unsolved problems in the creation of assault devices (combat components) and the information means used in such a system. Naturally, the unsolved nature of many similar problems indicates, once again, the complexity of the SDI and the tremendous cost of its creation and deployment.

The authors clearly prove that this system could be quite sensibly considered one of the dangerous means for dealing a first disarming strike. The combination of a broad anti-missile system, deployed outside the limitations set by the anti-ballistic missile defense treaty, with offensive nuclear weapons destabilizes the strategic situation. The authors convincingly state that all arguments in favor of the stabilizing role of broad anti-missile systems make no sense. The result of the emergence of weapons in space will be an even more intensive arms race both in space and on earth, which will worsen the gravity of the already heavy burden borne by the working people the world over. The stubborn support by the American side of its false position, which worsens and poisons the international situation, can be explained only with the extreme narrowness of the political views on the realities of today's world and a "lack of new thinking" (M.S. Gorbachev).

A separate chapter in the book deals with some possible ways and means of counteracting an offensive space weapon. This part of the work done by the Committee of Soviet Scientists has drawn the greatest attention of the Western specialists, for it scientifically describes the problem of the impossibility of creating an "absolute anti-missile shield." The authors systematically study the broad range of potential ways and means which could preserve the ability for crushing retaliation by the victim of aggression to whatever variant of nuclear attack may be used.

The authors classify the ways and means of counteracting a space assault weapon into active means and various steps for the development of strategic nuclear armaments.

Countermeasures considered by Soviet scientists prove the illusory nature of the hopes of U.S. militaristic forces that they would be able to gain all sorts of advantages with the implementation of the SDI. The book notes in a well-founded manner that the political picture of possible countermeasures will become apparent after the concept of a broad anti-missile defense and the possibility of intercepting ballistic missiles and striking at different ground and air targets has assumed its final shape.

Evaluations of the correlation between the cost of a multiecheloned space anti-missile system and countermeasures, based on computations made by specialists from the Committee of Soviet Scientists for Peace and Against the Nuclear Threat are interesting and instructive. It turns out that the cost of a comprehensive system of counteracting means and measures would account for no more than a few percentage points of the cost of a broad anti-missile defense system with elements based in outer space. Several other variants and combinations of means of neutralizing and suppressing an anti-missile defense system are more expensive, particularly taking into consideration steps to upgrade their resistance to a first strike dealt by the other side. In any

combination, however, such means are considerably (by at least several hundred percent) less costly than the SDI. Furthermore, as a whole they are much less vulnerable and technically much more stable than a broad anti-missile defense system involving space weapons (see p 179).

The study made by the Committee of Soviet Scientists of potential countermeasures is a good illustration of the statements made by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary on a possible response to the implementation of the SDI program. In particular, in his 18 August declaration, M.S. Gorbachev emphasized that "if necessary, we shall quickly find an answer, which will not be of the sort expected by the United States. However, this will be a response which will deprecate the 'star wars' program." In his meeting with the working people of Togliatti, M.S. Gorbachev said that "if despite common sense the United States persists in following this course, we shall find a convincing answer, not necessarily in space."

A separate part of the book provides a comparative analysis of the combat possibilities of the space echelon aimed at striking at ground and air targets (see pp 89-91). The conclusion is that this is not a means of defense and that its principal aim is to strike preemptive "blinding" blows simultaneously at all components of the troop control and command system of the potential enemy (see p 87).

The authors justifiably point out the particular danger related to the possibility of placing nuclear weapons on orbital platforms, which is banned by the 1967 treaty. However, the first step in this direction is already being planned in connection with the development by the United States of an x-ray laser for a space anti-missile defense system with a nuclear explosion trigger. Furthermore, as the specialists from the Committee of Soviet Scientists write, missiles placed on space platforms as "protective" weapons could be equipped with nuclear warheads to hit the ground from outer space. Their presence would be exceptionally difficult to control with national technical means (see p 90).

A positive feature of the book is the scientific analysis of the legal aspects of the consistency between SDI and international law. The authors emphasize that SDI directly violates the anti-missile defense treaty which is comprehensively considered the cornerstone of the entire system of international agreements on limiting and reducing armaments. The special role of this open-end treaty is that it juridically codifies an objectively existing organic link between limitations and reductions of strategic offensive armaments and limitations of strategic defensive armaments, which the U.S. administration is now attempting to violate.

The treaty bans the deployment of anti-ballistic defense systems on the territory of the countries and the creation of the foundation for such defense. Furthermore, it bans the creation, testing and deployment of systems or anti-ballistic defense components based in outer space. The book convincingly proves that, from the very beginning, the SDI has been aimed at finding ways and means for the development of such a system banned by the treaty. As the SDI program is being implemented, it will directly conflict with the treaty and lead to its invalidation.

In addition to the anti-ballistic missile treaty, the authors point out, the SDI violates a number of multilateral agreements, which include the 1963 Treaty on Banning the Testing of Nuclear Weapons in the Three Media, including space, the 1967 Space Treaty, the 1968 Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons and others.

In exposing the aggressive and destabilizing nature of the plans for the implementation of the SDI program, the authors also prove that the Soviet Union will find adequate ways and means of preventing the disturbance of the existing military-strategic balance in favor of the United States. Our country has all the necessary economic, scientific and technical resources to this effect. However, a new balance would be significantly less stable than the present, for a space anti-missile defense system, particularly its guidance, would inevitably have an internal instability, the danger of the "failure of checks," and a vast space "mine," including an accidental outbreak of war, which would exceptionally increase because of a self-activating "defense" system.

This book is a scientific challenge to the myths of the SDI as a "peaceful" and "defensive" program which, allegedly, would "strengthen" the political balance. We must cite at this point the words of M.S. Gorbachev's speech on Soviet television: "Let me repeat once again: the only conclusion from giving preference to SDI over to nuclear disarmament is the following: an effort will be made with the help of this military program to refute the axiom of international relations of our age, contained in the simple and clear words which I and the U.S. President signed last year: a nuclear war must not be waged and cannot be won."

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## THE SCIENCE OF PEACE AND THE PRESERVATION OF LIFE ON EARTH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 86 (signed to press 28 Oct 86) pp 116-118

[Review by G. Drambyants]

[Text] The harsh realities of the nuclear age have instilled in our consciousness extremely alarming thoughts on the future of civilization. The immeasurably increased threat of thermonuclear catastrophe has destroyed the customary political and military stereotypes, literally turning upside-down many seemingly inviolable concepts and ideas on problems of war and peace, forcing us to weigh and consider anew the chances of the preservation and development of mankind. This threat has become a kind of catalyst of social consciousness, and as the broad popular masses become actively involved in international affairs, they are demanding ever more firmly a radical solution to basic and sensitive problems of world politics, in the firm belief that in our days avoiding them means gambling with the fate of present and future generations. This truth prevails among state and political leaders and scientists. The leaders of our party and country have repeatedly noted their own special role and responsibility.

A Soviet school of foreign policy and military-political research has developed in recent years; a broad creative association of noted scientists dealing with international affairs has been created, within which they are successfully cooperating with one another. Their fruitful activities are coordinated by the Scientific Council for the Study of Problems of Peace and Disarmament, headed by Academician P.N. Fedoseyev, USSR Academy of Sciences vice president. The council works under the aegis of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace and the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology. One of the important trends in the work of the council is the writing of both large and comprehensive academic studies and relatively short pamphlets not only for specialists but also for wide range of readers in our country and abroad (in addition to Russian, such publications are printed in English, French, German and Spanish), in a series under the overall heading of "International Peace and Disarmament," published by Izdatelstvo Nauka.

The purpose of such publications is to acquaint the Soviet and foreign public with the views of our scientists on problems of international life, topical

theoretical and practical aspects of world politics and the profound economic and social processes and phenomena occurring in the world and, more specifically, in the area directly related to the most vital and major task of today: the study and search for ways and means of preserving and strengthening peace on earth.

A characteristic feature of these publications is the desire of their authors to put to practical use the results of scientific research and analytical developments by identifying the real scale of the catastrophe which threatens the planet should a thermonuclear war break out; to expose the source of militaristic threat; to identify the real culprit for the tension and the sociopolitical forces which are pushing mankind into the thermonuclear precipice; to help find real ways and means of ensuring universal security; and to arm the world public with the facts and arguments needed for increasing the struggle against negative trends in the development of the international situation. In that sense, the formulation of the problem is consistent with the concept included in the CPSU Central Committee political report: "Time raises the question of the extensive conversion of the social sciences to meet specific practical requirements; it demands of the social scientist sensitively to react to the changes which are taking place in life, to keep in sight the new phenomena, and to draw conclusions which can accurately guide practical work."

The 1980s introduced essentially new features in the assessment and awareness of the catastrophic consequences a nuclear war could have on mankind. Based on the results of serious scientific studies, the authors of the pamphlets "O Vozmozhnosti 'Sluchaynoy' Yadernoy Voyny" [On the Possibility of "Accidental" Nuclear War], "Gubitelnyye Posledstviya Yadernoy Voyny" [The Fatal Consequences of Nuclear War] and "Atom--Tolko Mirnyy" [The Atom Must Be Only Peaceful], describe the scale of the catastrophe and warn mankind that a failure of efforts to prevent a nuclear conflict threatens civilization with doom and the total breakdown of the contemporary social, economic and political structures. An orientation toward nuclear war means orientation toward self-genocide, the authors conclude. Their forecast is not an attempt deliberately to present the situation worse than it is but an objective and realistic depiction of the danger, the ignorance or underestimating of which could turn into universal tragedy.

In the face of such a threat, the task of ending the insane arms race and undertaking a real reduction in military arsenals and, in the broader sense, to dismantle the entire material apparatus of war and to develop on earth the type of political climate in which the principles of peaceful coexistence and civilized and responsible standards of international relations would prevail arises in its entire magnitude. This topic is discussed in an entire cycle of pamphlets, including "Sovetskaya Kontseptsiya Bezopasnosti" [The Soviet Concept of Security], "Za Atmosferu Doveriya" [For an Atmosphere of Confidence], "Stokholmskaya Konferentsiya" [The Stockholm Conference], "Mezhdunarodnyy Mekhanizm Peregovorov po Razoruzheniyu" [The International Mechanism of Disarmament Talks] and "Problemy Kontrolya" [Problems of Control]. The main theme of these publications is that problems of the nuclear age can and must be solved through political means rather than war, that there is no acceptable and sensible alternative to the concept of a

comprehensive system of international security and that despite all differences in the ideologies and social systems of the individual countries, the possibility exists of stopping the dangerous development of events and direct them into a healthy channel. This requires the collective and joint efforts of the peoples on the only sensible common platform of eliminating the threat of universal catastrophe.

V.I. Lenin considered imperialist war the greatest crime against mankind, emphasizing that "it is worth to dedicate one's life to the struggle against such a war; one must be merciless in this struggle and all sophistry in its defense should be pursued down to its very last refuge" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 45, p 299). Lenin's instructions are of exceptional relevance today, when the imperialist circles, and the representatives of the military-industrial complex are resorting to all sorts of traps and propaganda maneuvers to trick and mislead the world public concerning the possibility of "limited" or "local" nuclear conflicts. In their publications, the Soviet scientists rebuff the false arguments and "scientific" computations of the defenders of the Pentagon's strategists, describing the various aspects of their subversive and anti-humane activities, studying the fatal influence of militarism on the moral condition and views of Western society and exposing the intrigues of imperialist circles, which are trying to push mankind into the fatal whirlpool of military adventures.

At the same time, the nuclear space age has become a time of tempestuous upsurge of the anti-war movement, which has spread among the broadest possible population strata in Western and Eastern countries. The pamphlets "Sovremennoye Antivoyennoye Dvizheniye" [The Contemporary Anti-War Movement] and "Sovetskaya Obshchestvennost v Mirovom Antivoyennom Dvizhenii" [The Soviet Public in the World Anti-War Movement] describe the features marking the current stage of this movement and its role in world politics; they offer a thorough study of the various trends and currents and indicate the growing possibilities of really influencing the policies of Western governments. They discuss in detail the contribution of scientists and the scientific public to the unification of anti-militaristic forces acting in defense of universal peace.

The series under review was started relatively recently. Although it is only 5 years old Izdatelstvo Nauka has already published some 40 pamphlets. However, in itself the quantitative aspect of the project is not a serious proof of efficiency. Let us note the numerous shortcomings of this series. The most annoying among them is its lengthy production cycle, which results in the absence of a rhythmical, efficient schedule for the publication of pamphlets. Another noteworthy feature is the lack of formulation of a "standard model" which would substantially distinguish it from publications of, let us say, the APN or Progress.

By no means are all the works published distinguished by high research standards, profound summations and clarity of presentation. Some of them are excessively academic and meaningless excursions into the history of the problem, with the repetitiveness, stylistic dullness and long quotations of official documents. The readers have the right to expect of such a highly skilled and prestigious group of authors more original materials,

substantiated conclusions and daring forecasts and the tireless exposure of the scientific ideological diversions of the promoters of war and violence, which is particularly important in the present exceptionally difficult and responsible moment in history.

The appearance of such pamphlets in the "International Peace and Disarmament" series is a good sign of the times. Each pamphlet individually and all of them together provide a clear idea of the extensive and fruitful activities of the Soviet scientists in their study of the problems of the "science of peace." Unlike the "science of war," which goes far into history, the real science of peace appeared with the victory of the Great October Revolution. Its foundations were laid in Lenin's works and the historical Decree on Peace. In developing the Leninist ideas in terms of the nuclear space age, the Soviet scientists are responding to the appeal of the 27th CPSU Congress to undertake the study of problems of global development on an essentially new and higher level of analysis and summation.

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## FIRST READER ON THE HISTORY OF UTOPIAN SOCIALISM IN RUSSIA

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 86 (signed to press 28 Oct 86) pp 118-121

[Review by V. Tvardovskaya, doctor of historical sciences, of the book "Utopicheskiy Sotsializm v Rossii. Khrestomatiya" [Utopian Socialism in Russia. A Reader]. A.I. Volodin and V.M. Shakhmatov, compilers and authors of the introductory article. A.I. Volodin, general editor. Politizdat, Moscow, 1985, 590 pp]

[Text] The reader under review includes works by Russian socialists covering a period of half a century (1833-1883), from the birth of utopian socialism in our country to the appearance of scientific socialism. So far, this is the only comprehensive documentary aid in the history of Russian socialist thought in its preproletarian development period. In addition to works by outstanding European utopian socialists, it was only selected works by A.I. Herzen that were included in the series "Predecessors of Scientific Socialism," which was founded by Academician V.P. Volgin in 1947.

The compilation of this reader is directly related to the solution of a number of theoretical problems on the history of utopian thinking, depending on their development standards and scientific approach to their study. Let us note here the particular difficulty of problems involved with Russian socialist thinking, which appeared after Western European utopian socialism, and the fact that for a long time, through the start of the 1960s, a critical approach predominated in the study of Russian utopian thinking, which emphasized its shortcomings based on its comparison with scientific socialism. On the basis of Lenin's concept of the liberation movement, Soviet researchers consistently struggled against the one-sidedness of this approach. This reader on the history of utopian socialism in Russia, which comes with a profound theoretical introductory article, a long bibliography, which includes not only the works of historians, philosophers and literary experts but also works of art, is a summation of accomplishments in this area.

The works of the 25 Russian utopian socialists included in the reader are different in terms of genre (articles, studies, pamphlets, proclamations, speeches, letters, program documents). The book is a reflection of the wealth and variety of Russian socialist thought, heterogeneous trends, variety of shades and different levels reached by the writers, and disparate quality of their contribution to the development of socialist ideas. The readers will

encounter the originators of utopian socialism in Russia (A.I. Herzen, N.G. Chernyshevskiy) and its "last Mohican" (N.K. Mikhaylovskiy); its noted theoreticians (N.A. Dobrolyubov, V.V. Bervi-Flerovskiy, N.V. Shelgunov and P.N. Tkachev) and the rank-and-file supporters of socialist thought (P.G. Zaichnevskiy and N.V. Sokolov); participants in the first few socialist circles (V.A. Milyutin, D.D. Akhsharumov and A.V. Khanykov) and socialists who operated not only in Russia but also in the international arena (M.A. Bakunin, P.L. Lavrov and P.A. Kropotkin).

The importance of this work is determined by the rationality in the selection of the materials. The compilers were oriented toward philosophers closely linked to the liberation movement and those who had influenced it and left their mark in the development of socialist ideas. Preference was given to works which had been published in their time or else were being disseminated in manuscript form, i.e., works which had met with a social response. Although we acknowledge the sensible nature of this approach to the very extensive legacy left by the Russian socialists, we believe that in some cases the compilers should have violated it in order to be able to reflect more comprehensively the ideas of the most outstanding among them. For example, A.I. Zhelyabov, a revolutionary considered by V.I. Lenin on the level of a Robespierre and Garibaldi (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works, vol 26, p 226]), is mentioned in the reader only in the context of the "Program of Workers, Members of the Narodnaya Volya Party." Since A.I. Zhelyabov's literary legacy is scant and scattered, the section dealing with him should have included excerpts from his testimony at the investigation and his speech during the trial, taken from his letters to M.P. Dragomanov (published in BYLOM, No 3, 1906, and not reissued), in which he raises the important question of the correlation between socialist ideas and revolutionary practice. A more flexible approach to the selection of the material would have been suitable also in some other cases, the more so since the compilers themselves have not followed strictly in all points the limitations they had set for themselves.

Russian utopian socialism is presented in the reader as an organic part of global socialist thinking. All of the materials reflect the awareness of the Russian socialists of achievements of socialist thinking in the West and their closest possible interaction with it. The authors of the introductory article repeatedly resort to a comparative analysis of the ideas of Russian and Western European utopian socialisms, noting similarities and essential differences in their development.

A.I. Volodin and B.M. Shakhmatov describe as positive anti-bourgeois the specific features of utopian socialism which unified the great variety of its trends and which distinguished it from other social theories (see pp 8-9). They include in this concept not simply the rejection of the capitalist system but the type of rejection related to the formulation of a social ideal which takes into consideration the achievements of civilization. It is possible that new works on utopian socialism will provide a more mature and more advanced definition of its nature. The present formula included in the reader is, for the time being, the most apt among those found in other publications of this kind. As the response to "general European problems of social

development," Russian utopian socialism was also an answer to the vital problems of domestic life (see p 23).

Whereas the ideas of the Western socialists, with their rejection of the oppression and exploitation brought by the new capitalist society embodied, above all, the feelings and aspirations of the preproletariat, the protest of the Russian utopian socialists, which was directed simultaneously against the bourgeoisie and against serfdom, expressed the interests of the largest class in the country--the peasantry--which had suffered more than any other class from the complex interweaving of social contradictions. The progressive intelligentsia in Russia critically interpreted the experience of the Western European countries, the development of which clearly revealed the antagonisms of the bourgeois system. The aspiration to avoid such antagonisms motivated the Russian revolutionaries to seek for their own country a different type of fate. The reader reflects this difficult search in a personified way, if one may say so, through the depiction of the destinies of unique personalities who left through their activities a mark on the course of socialist ideas. Whereas the reader itself is a characteristic story of such ideas as represented by individuals, the introductory article to it is, in this sense, even more "crowded," for it also discusses philosophers whose books have remained outside the scope of the work.

Legitimately, more space has been allotted to A.I. Herzen and N.G. Chernyshevskiy, whose activities are related to the most outstanding pages in the history of the Russian liberation movement in the 19th century. The texts included in the reader show the large-scale and broad thinking of these personalities, their powerful aspiration for the future and absorption with the daily "accursed" problems of Russian life, inseparable, in their case, from universal and eternal problems. It is precisely these founders of Russian peasant socialism who came the closest to scientific socialism.

The 25 destinies of Russian utopian socialists, described in the book in a brief, frequently almost protocolar enumeration of biographic facts, is an eloquent proof of 50 years of heroic endeavors of the socialist intelligentsia in Russia. Virtually all references preceding the section on one philosopher or another include information on detentions, exiles and jail sentences. This most clearly proves that it was impossible to be a socialist in Russia without being a revolutionary. The history of social thinking is virtually unaware of ivory-tower socialists alienated from revolutionary practice.

The exceptionally rich 50-year period of Russian utopian socialism (1833-1883) is traced in the reader systematically and gradually. The breakdown in the development of socialist thinking in Russia is based on its links with the practice of the liberation movement. Pre-reform utopian socialism may be divided into three periods: 1833-1840: the time of "gestation" of socialist ideas, of which few people were aware; 1841-1848: a period during which these ideas entered the pages of Russian journalism, became known to the public and led to an increase in the number of their supporters; 1849-1860: elaboration of the theory of a peasant, a communal socialism. The compilers of the reader consider a qualitatively new stage in the evolution of utopian socialism as related to the 1861 reform, which marked the beginning of the combination of socialist thinking with the revolutionary movement of the raznochintsy

intellectuals. The purpose of the subsequent classification (1861-1866, 1867-1874 and 1875-1883) is to indicate the increasingly tangible penetration of problems of revolutionary practice into socialist theory.

Despite some imperfections which could be eliminated in subsequent editions of the reader, this periodization of pre-Marxist socialist thinking in Russia has unquestionable merits, without being exhaustive. It allows the reader to take a close look, as though in slow motion, at the changes which occurred in utopian socialism, depending on the situation in the country and the liberation movement.

The most important and most sensitive problem of any utopian socialist theory is that of the correlation between ideal and reality. In Russia, it turned from an abstract-theoretical into a practical problem. The texts and accompanying materials included in the reader enable us to identify the aspiration, which was typical of the Russian socialists in their struggle for social ideals, to be based on the real actual circumstances within which they singled out the remaining peasant community with its equalizing land utilization, division of the land and joint work. It was through the community that the utopian socialists unsuccessfully tried to link ideals with reality. However, the programmatic documents of the socialists of the 1870-1880s, included in the book, also prove the influence which peasant utopia itself had on the study of reality. The introductory article should have pointed this out, indicating the way the results of this knowledge frequently was squeezed to fit preconceptions of the peasant as the man of the future and the peasantry as the basic force of socialist change. The aspiration to knowledge of real life, so clearly manifested in the works of A.I. Herzen and N.G. Chernyshevskiy, was characteristic in different degrees of the utopian specialists of the 1870s and beginning of 1880s, and subsequently abandoned with the development of the class struggle and the conversion of the proletariat into its main force, increasingly replaced by alienation from facts, which V.I. Lenin noted in the supporters of populist socialism. It is true that in the period covered in the reader the crisis tendencies of utopianism had not manifested themselves quite clearly as yet. We believe that the compilers should have looked beyond the period they covered in order to trace the logical end in the development of utopian socialism and bring its entire dialectics to light, the more so since a number of socialists described in the reader continued their activities even after 1883 (such as N.K. Mikhaylovskiy).

The materials assembled in the reader will help the readership not only to see the external obstacles, which are most clearly described in contemporary publications and which accompanied the search for a proper revolutionary theory, such as the repressive nature of the autocracy, censorship, etc. These materials, which are systematically described in the book, allow us to see the internal difficulties in the work of socialist philosophy, which opened the way, surmounting existing mental stereotypes and entrapped by new illusions so that, in testing them against practical experience, revizing, rejecting, seeking once again, and sometimes ending in a dead-end street and experiencing the continuous pain of the divergence between ideals and reality.

The reader provides an overall and thorough idea of the development of utopian socialism in the preproletarian period of the Russian liberation movement. It helps us to understand more profoundly and comprehensively the known and so very familiar Leninist thought that "Russia truly experiences Marxism, as the only accurate revolutionary theory..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 41, p 8). Marxism, which negated peasant socialism and went beyond it, was to a considerable extent prepared by the preceding very difficult time of utopian socialist ideas. The detailed elaboration and practical testing of the problems of the revolution and socialism by the Russian utopian socialists, despite its adverse effects, "eliminated the dead-end streets and thus were a lesson to the subsequent generations of socialist revolutionaries" (p 70).

However, it is not only a question of the fact that proletarian socialism benefited from the theoretical and practical experience of the socialists who preceded it. The authors of the introductory article, who rely on the texts published in the reader, argue that Russian pre-Marxist socialist ideas were able to formulate the radical problems of the revolution which they could not solve but the solution of which they sought, for these problems had been raised by the needs of reality itself. In that sense as well, Marxism was directly related to the results of the development of utopian socialism, for it was precisely Marxism which had to answer such "accursed" questions. The history of socialist thinking, expressively recorded in this reader, confirms the organic, the legitimate nature of the appearance of Marxism in Russia, which is still being denied by some foreign historiographers.

The reader proves the durability of socialist traditions in our country and their viability under the most difficult conditions of social development. By reminding us of the different supporters of socialist thinking, this work becomes an organic part of contemporary social life with its increased thoughts about the correlation between ideal and reality and the aspiration to accelerate our advance and assert the features of the future within the present.

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## SHORT BOOK REVIEWS

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[Text] "'Zelenyye': Ideologiya i Politika" [The 'Greens': Ideology and Politics]. Authors: V.D. Granov (head of the group of authors), V.G. Vasin, B.S. Orlov and Ya.G. Fogeler. Molodaya Gvardiya, Moscow, 1985, 190 pp. Reviewed I. Krivoguz, doctor of historical sciences.

The upsurge of mass democratic movements in the nonsocialist world is one of the most typical features of our time. Some of these movements appeared a long time ago, such as, for example, the peace movement, which assumed particularly wide scope in recent years. Others are relatively recent but have already achieved significant influence. All of them, although heterogeneous in structure and specific demands, essentially oppose various aspects of the policies of reactionary imperialist circles and are part of the general movement of the struggle for peace and social progress.

The ideology and politics of one such movement--"The Greens"--is considered in the book under review, which is the first work in Soviet literature entirely devoted to this topic. Its content is based on the results of serious studies and a considerable range of sources.

In discussing the prehistory of the "Green" movement, the authors consider first of all youth activism in the 1950s-1970s. However, the movement developed not only on the basis of youth "alternative" trends but, particularly, on the basis of "civic initiatives" and the gradual consolidation of forces focused on solving ecological problems. No less significant in explaining the strengthening of the "Green" movement was the mistrust on the part of some working people of bourgeois and social democratic parties, the awakening and the joining of the struggle by various population groups, particularly the middle classes, and the new and growing awareness of their true interests.

The "Greens" consider themselves the basic opponents of all authority and all political organizations. Nevertheless, in a number of countries they were forced to set up their own parties. The "Greens" condemned the bourgeois state and bourgeois parties with their anti-communist prejudices and erroneous concepts of real socialism. Some of them favor an "ecological, self-governing

and emancipated socialism" (p 51), the most important features of which they consider to be a production process consistent with all ecological requirements, communal self-government and autonomy of enterprises managed by the working people.

In their criticism of the "industrial society" and the fetishization of "material growth" for the sake of increased profits, the "Greens" formulated their own "third" way, calling for decentralization and a cooperative organization of industry, direct participation by the working people in economic management, limiting production to the necessary minimum, an orientation to recoverable energy sources, strict resource conservation and rejection of nuclear energy. It is on the basis of the latter, the authors believe, that the "Greens" reached the understanding that a nuclear war would be the most destructive ecological catastrophe.

Determining the place and role of the "Greens" in the powerful anti-nuclear actions of the 1980s is of essential significance. The authors convincingly prove that they became one of the leading forces in these actions, persistently demanding the elimination of nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons, the rejection of the militarization of space, the disbanding of military blocs and the creation of zones free from nuclear weapons.

The "Green" wave is rising, spreading to new countries and new population strata. Despite the contradictory and heterogeneous nature of its structure, as a whole the movement is following an ascending line of development, from uncoordinated actions to a national organization, from isolated demands to an ideological and political platform and from efforts to replace modern capitalist production with a cooperative-artisan production and a search for types of scientific and technical progress which would combine the interests of society and nature and from ecological self-organization to overall political struggle; and, as a whole, to an intensification of anti-capitalist trends. The growing significance of the "Greens" is confirmed by the fact alone that representatives of that party have been elected to the parliaments of Belgium, the FRG and Italy and in the local governments in many countries.

Data included in the book describing their political activities contribute a great deal to understanding the anti-imperialist potential of the "Greens." Most of them support the viewpoint that neither revolutions nor reforms are adequate means of reorganization of society (see p 77). In their view, the main thing is to eliminate the old order and replace it with a new one through mass action and coordinated activities in parliaments and municipalities. On this basis, they organize mass actions against the arms race, nuclear in particular, and against any destruction of the environment. They promote the expansion of the "front of rejection" of participation in such activities and are in favor of the self-organizing of all opponents of specific negative consequences of the domination of monopolies, the arbitrary rule of multinational corporations and the strengthening of the military-industrial complex. In formulating plans for the reconversion of the military industry, the "Greens" convincingly prove that investments in civilian production create many more jobs needed to reduce unemployment. All of this enabled them, after some clashes, to find in a number of countries ways to cooperate with a

certain segment of the trade unions and with worker parties--social democratic and communist.

An entire chapter deals with problems of relations between communists and "Greens." The general attitude of the communists toward the "Greens" is briefly described as "not rivalry but cooperation for the sake of common objectives" (p 141). The communists try to cooperate with the "Greens" on problems such as the struggle for disarmament, the prevention of nuclear war and social progress. Even in these areas differences exist in the approach of the communists to such partnership, giving preference to leftist and more progressive trends within the "Green" movement. The description of this fact in the book is supported by a thorough study of the attitude of the German Communist Party toward the "Greens." Although ties between the communist parties and this movement have developed somewhat differently in other countries, as a whole, they are consistent with the overall communist line.

This first book in Soviet literature on the subject of the "Greens" as a structural component of mass democratic movements is a serious work and, unquestionably, will be useful to those interested in such problems.

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## BOOKSHELF

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 86 (signed to press 28 Oct 86) p 123

[Text] 1. Marx, K. and Engels, F. "Izbrannyye Sochineniya" [Selected Works]. In 9 volumes. Vol 4. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 681 pp.

2. "K. Marks i F. Engels ob Ateizme, Religii i Tserkvi" [K. Marx and F. Engels on Atheism, Religion and Church]. 2nd expanded edition. Mysl, Moscow, 1986, 669 pp.

3. "Predmetnyy Ukazatel ko Vtoromu Izdaniyu Sochineniy K. Marksya i F. Engelsa (40-50 toma)" [Subject Index for the Second Edition of the Works of K. Marx and F. Engels (vols 40-50)]. Editorial collegium. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 457 pp.

4. Lenin, V.I. "Izbrannyye Sochineniya" [Selected Works]. In 10 volumes. Vol 7, March-October 1917. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 635 pp.

5. "V.I. Lenin o Sotsialisticheskem Stroitelstve" [V.I. Lenin on the Building of Socialism]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 463 pp.

6. "V.I. Lenin, KPSS o Sotsialisticheskoy Zakonnosti i Pravoporyadke" [V.I. Lenin and the CPSU on Socialist Legality and Law and Order]. 2nd expanded edition. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 637 pp.

7. "Kommunisticheskaya Partiya Sovetskogo Soyuza v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh Syezdov, Konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK. 1898-1986" [The Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses and Conferences and Central Committee Plenums, 1898-1986]. 9th expanded and revised edition. Vol 10, 1961-1965, 494 pp; vol 11, 1966-1970, 574 pp. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986.

8. Gorbachev, M.S. "Moratori" [Moratorium]. Collection of speeches and addresses by the CPSU Central Committee General Secretary on the problem of ending nuclear tests (January-September 1986). Izdatelstvo APN, Moscow, 1986, 207 pp.

9. "Uglublyat Perestroyku, Pribavit v Rabote" [Intensifying the Reorganization and Adding to the Work]. Collection of materials on M.S.

Gorbachev's trip to the Kuban and the Stavropol area, 17-19 September 1986. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 64 pp with illustrations.

10. "Sovetsko-Amerikanskaya Vstrecha na Vysshem Urovne" [The Soviet-American Summit]. Reykjavik, 11-12 October 1986. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 64 pp with illustrations.

11. Shevardnadze, E.A. "Za Novoye Myshleniye v Mirovoy Politike" [For a New Way of Thinking in World Politics]. Address delivered at the 41st UN General Assembly session, 23 September 1986. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 30 pp.

12. Abalkin, L.I. "Kursom Uskoreniya" [Course of Acceleration]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 215 pp.

13. "Aktivnaya Sotsialnaya Politika: Poiski, Nakhodki, Resheniya" [Active Social Policy: Quests, Findings, Decisions]. By a group of authors. Mysl, Moscow, 1986, 158 pp with illustrations.

14. "Amerikanskiy Kapitalizm v 80-e Gody" [American Capitalism in the 1980s]. Laws and trends of economic development. G.Ye. Skorov, responsible editor. Nauka, Moscow, 1986, 525 pp.

15. Berets, Ya. "Krakh Operatsii 'Fokus'" [Failure of Operation Focus]. The counterrevolution with pen and weapon. Translated from the Hungarian. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 255 pp.

16. Bolshakov, V.V. "Na Puti v XXI Vek" [Marching Toward the 21st Century]. Report-thoughts. Molodaya Gvardiya, Moscow, 1986, 272 pp with illustrations.

17. Winkler, H. "Mirovyye Resursy" [World Resources]. Play in 21 pictures. Translated from the German. Znaniye, Moscow, 1986, 272 pp.

18. Vulkova, V. "Trudovoy Kollektiv i Sotsialisticheskiy Obraz Zhizni" [Labor Collective and Socialist Way of Life]. Philosophical and sociological aspects. Translated from the Bulgarian. Progress, Moscow, 1986, 190 pp.

19. "XXVII Syezd KPSS: Tvorcheskiy Vklad v Marksistsko-Leninskuyu Teoriyu" [The 27th CPSU Congress: Creative Contribution to Marxist-Leninist Theory]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 192 pp.

20. "Intensifikatsiya i Effektivnost Sotsialisticheskogo Vosproizvodstva" [Intensification and Efficiency of Socialist Reproduction]. Editors: A. Braun (GDR), D. Kinov (Bulgaria), V. Rybin (USSR) et al. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 351 pp.

21. Kashin, V.A. "Kto Soderzhit Burzhuaznoye Gosudarstvo?" [Who Supports the Bourgeois State?]. Income taxes: their use against the working people. Mysl, Moscow, 1986, 207 pp.

22. Kovalev, S.M. "Vospitaniye i Samovospitaniye" [Education and Self-Education]. Mysl, Moscow, 1986, 287 pp.

23. Lizichev, A.D. "Zashchita Otechestva: Chelovecheskiy Faktor" [Defense of the Fatherland: the Human Factor]. Voenizdat, Moscow, 1986, 112 pp.

24. "Marks i Sovremennaya Politicheskaya Teoriya" [Marx and Contemporary Political Theory]. Editors: G.Kh. Shakhnazarov (head of group of authors) et al. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 127 pp.

25. "Narodnoye Khozyaystvo Sotsialisticheskikh Stran v 1985 Godu" [The National Economy of the Socialist Countries in 1985]. Reports by statistical administrations. Finansy i Statistika, Moscow, 1986, 189 pp.

26. "Narodnoye Khozyaystvo SSSR v 1985 Godu" [The USSR National Economy in 1985]. Statistical yearbook. Finansy i Statistika, Moscow, 1986, 655 pp.

27. "Obshchestvennoye Soznaniye i Yego Formy" [Social Consciousness and its Forms]. By a group of authors. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 367 pp.

28. "Politicheskaya Ekonomiya Sotsializma--Teoreticheskaya Osnova Ekonomicheskoy Politiki KPSS" [Socialist Political Economy--Theoretical Foundation of CPSU Economic Policy]. Lecture course. Edited by L.I. Abalkin. Mysl, Moscow, 1986, 605 pp.

29. Proektor, D.M. "Mirovyye Voyny i Sudby Chelovechestva" [World Wars and the Fate of Mankind]. Thoughts. Mysl, Moscow, 1986, 318 pp.

30. "Razvitiye Natsionalnykh Otnosheniy v SSSR" [Development of National Relations in the USSR]. For students of Marxist-Leninist theory and CPSU policy studying on their own. By a group of authors. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 174 pp.

31. "Razoruzheniye--Veleniye Vremeni" [Disarmament is the Imperative of the Time]. Documents and materials. Issue No 8. Compiled by N.P. Prozhgin. Pravda, Moscow, 1986, 320 pp.

32. Rakitov, A.I. "Marksistsko-Leninskaya Filosofiya" [Marxist-Leninist Philosophy]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 368 pp.

33. Sokolov, V.M. "Sotsiologiya Nравственного Развития Личности" [Sociology of the Moral Development of the Individual]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 240 pp.

34. "Spravochnik Propagandista-Mezhdunarodnika" [Manual of the International Affairs Propagandist]. V.V. Zaglavin and N.V. Shishlin, general editors. Compiled by N.K. Golovko. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 239 pp.

35. Ugrinovich, D.M. "Psichologiya Religii" [Psychology of Religion]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 352 pp.

36. "Uskoreniye" [Acceleration]. Topical problems of socioeconomic development. No 3. D. Valova, responsible editor. Pravda, Moscow, 1986, 384 pp.

37. "Filosofiya i Sotsiologiya Nauki i Tekhniki" [Philosophy and Sociology of Science and Technology]. Yearbook. 1984-1985. Nauka, Moscow, 1986, 252 pp.

38. Khalipov, V.F. "Nauchnyy Kommunizm" [Scientific Communism]. For courses in the foundations of Marxism-Leninism. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 351 pp.

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## AFTER PUBLICATION IN KOMMUNIST

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[Text] A report on the roundtable meeting held at the Novolipetsk Metallurgical Combine imeni Yu.V. Andropov was published in two consecutive issues of this journal (Nos 11 and 12 for 1986) under the heading "In the Basic Link of Renovation." Some of the results of the discussion which was held there on the practices and problems of acceleration of the enterprise's socioeconomic development and the reorganization of the ways and means of work of party, economic and planning authorities were summed up in the journal's editorial commentary (No 13, 1986). The editors received an official answer to these publications, which reads as follows:

The questions discussed at the roundtable meeting sponsored by the journal KOMMUNIST are being followed by specific actions taken by the collective of the Novolipetsk Metallurgical Combine. The discussion of the crucial problems of accelerating the enterprise's development was specific; the programs of measures are supported with the necessary financial, technical and manpower resources; realistic implementation deadlines are being set.

Such programs are already being applied at the combine. Thus, at its August session, the party committee closely studied the activities of the combine's administration and party and social organizations in the shops, on matters of housing construction. A party committee resolution was promulgated on the subject of a comprehensive "housing" target program the implementation of which will ensure every combine worker his individual apartment or private home by the year 2000. Unquestionably, the implementation of this program will demand significant efforts by the collective: it becomes necessary to develop its own production of construction materials and a construction subdivision, to attract funds from the people and resources. A council was set up to coordinate the work and control the course of its implementation, which includes the combine's director, the party committee secretary, the chairman of the trade union committee, the Komsomol committee secretary and a number of managers of combine services.

Last June, the party committee considered the question of manual labor at the combine. A number of major shortcomings were brought to light: unsystematic efforts to reduce labor-intensive operations, lack of material incentives, and

poor technical facilities for the manufacturing of minor mechanization devices. The resolution earmarked steps aimed at the elimination of these shortcomings. For example, the central mechanization laboratory is already developing means of mechanizing the lining of casings of the foundry gates. The difficult manual labor involved in this operation was described at the roundtable meeting by senior blast furnace operator in shop No 1, V.P. Kosyakov.

Without waiting to obtain from the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building more comfortable cabins for the cranes in the warehouse where the cold iron is stored, mentioned by crane operator M.V. Krutskikh at the meeting, the blast furnace workers have already built one cabin themselves and are now building two more.

Problems of capital repairs of main machine units, with mandatory technical restructuring, discussed at the meeting, are being further developed; this will increase the volume of output and improve production quality and working conditions. This fully applies to the capital 40-day repair of blast furnace No 6, which is currently taking place. The technical measures planned in this area will enable us to increase the volume of output by 25,000 tons of cast iron annually, ensure more reliable control over the condition of the furnace, improve further the working conditions of the blast furnace workers and solve a number of problems related to protecting the air over the city from pollution.

The discussion sponsored by KOMMUNIST indicated yet once again the need to increase our efforts aimed at solving the difficulties and problems created by the reorganization. We shall cite a specific situation.

Under the conditions of the application of total cost accounting, the consideration of all types of energy resources becomes particularly important. However, we cannot say that such record keeping will be organized properly at the combine in the immediate future, for no more than 25 to 28 percent of the needs for suitable equipment are met by the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems. Insufficient use is made of computers for purposes of controlling energy resources. The combine cannot solve this problem without substantial ministry help.

Or else let us consider the problem of the effectiveness of environmental protection activities, which was discussed at the meeting. No satisfactory protection of the water and air basins from the harmful effluents of the combine can be ensured without major scientific work and significant capital investments (current estimates call for a single investment of more than 10 million rubles). Understandably, the solution of problems related to such substantial investments exceeds the combine's possibilities.

We are mentioning here only a fraction of the problems which were discussed at the roundtable meeting. We cannot say that they were unknown to our collective. However, the frank discussion which was held with the participation of social scientists and senior personnel of the Ministry and the USSR Gosplan helped us to realize more clearly the difficulty of the tasks related to accelerating the development of the economy and the great extent to

which they depend on the specific efforts of anyone participating in this common project.

It is impossible to reorganize the sectorial economic mechanism, not to mention to accomplish this on a nationwide scale in a few months, even if the proper approaches have been found, something which we clearly realize. However, do we have the right to drag the solution of entirely clear problems? The bureaucratic red tape which has sunk roots here and there is causing a great deal of harm to specific initiatives and to the very idea of the reconstruction.

For example, we are now ending the first year of the 12th 5-Year Plan; however, to this day the combine has no approved capital construction plan. The implementation of the plan for technical retooling based on noncentralized capital investments has been postponed for at least 2 years. Nor do we have methodical instructions on setting and applying contractual prices for construction, on the basis of which the work for the technical retooling and reconstruction of existing production facilities should take place.

Again and again we realize the accuracy of the virtually unanimous view of the participants in the discussion on the need for a radical reorganization of the methods applied in managing enterprise activities. Yet the documents adopted by the directive-issuing authorities in August 1986 ignore the suggestions of the combine related to converting to self-financing. Above all, as in the past, a large number of planned indicators are included, which do not increase the right to use profits left at the disposal of the collective. The same applies to economic incentive funds.

Despite the difficulties and obstacles which arise in the course of the implementation of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, we deem it necessary to emphasize that the open and principled discussion of problems at the stage of the formulation and application of specific decisions is very useful. It would be desirable for the discussion of specific scientific and practical problems of acceleration of socioeconomic development to be continued in KOMMUNIST, with the participation of a broad circle of representatives of enterprises, sectors and departments. The combine's collective would be very interested in participating in such a discussion.

I. Frantsenyuk, combine director

A. Teplenichev, party committee secretary

From the editors: the practical and interested response received from the heads of the Novolipetsk Metallurgical Combine to the roundtable discussion sponsored by KOMMUNIST is pleasing, above all, because a significant number of specific suggestions expressed by the participants in the meeting held last June are already being converted into the practical accomplishments of its collective. This result of the meeting confirms the readiness of the Novolipetsk metallurgical workers and the enterprise's party organization to make use of anything useful and promising which was born in the course of the exchange of views on the difficult and crucial problems of accelerating the enterprise's socioeconomic development.

Nonetheless, a number of basic problems of reconstruction, including that of relations between the combine and the planning authorities, are awaiting their resolution. They include the use of cost accounting principles in planning and production management and streamlining relations between the ministry and, above all, the central economic departments, the Gosplan and the Gosnab.

As the answer provided by the managers of the NLMK indicates, the inertia of obsolete approaches to managing enterprise activities is still tangibly manifested in economic practices, as a result of which the overall life of the labor collective is subject to bureaucratic regulations and the solution of difficult problems is being exceptionally complicated by efforts to solve them through arbitrary means. As was noted in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the meeting with the party aktiv of Krasnodar kray, some areas, labor collectives, krays, oblasts and republics are relying on the more active reorganization of the activities of our central ministries and departments. The requirement of radically improving the work of the country's economic management authorities in accordance with the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress is dictated by reality itself. Its implementation brooks no delay or halfway measures. The extent to which ministries and departments will systematically carry out the reorganization will largely determine the creation of the most favorable conditions and necessary prerequisites for initiative-minded and independent and, therefore, efficient work of labor collectives in all economic sectors.

The number of responses by the readers, triggered by the publication of the materials of the roundtable meeting at the Novolipetsk Metallurgical Combine is increasing ("In the Basic Link of Renovation," KOMMUNIST, Nos 11, 12 and 13 for 1986). In supporting the journal's initiative to organize discussions and debates on major essential problems, triggered by the practice of acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development, our readers are persistently raising the question of upgrading the efficiency of such discussions. Naturally, the KOMMUNIST editors as well are interested in this. We therefore expect the answers of the USSR Gosplan and Gosnab, the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy and the Ministry of Heavy Machine Building on the essence of the problems raised in the course of the meeting at the Novolipetsk Metallurgical Combine. The discussion will be continued in terms of the specific conditions prevailing in other sectors and enterprises, in a series of new articles and discussions which are planned by KOMMUNIST for the immediate future.

The USSR Academy of Sciences Department of Economics shares the concern caused by the condition of demographic studies, expressed in KOMMUNIST in S. Shatalin's article "All About Demography" (No 12, 1986).

The unsatisfactory situation in the science of demographics is particularly alarming in connection with the adverse demographic situation in the country, which is showing a trend toward further worsening. The aggravation of population problems requires the purposeful management of demographic processes with a view to developing in the future the type of population reproduction which would be consistent with the long-term interests of socialist society. The need for a planned control of the conditions governing the growth of healthy and harmoniously developing generations is becoming increasing urgent.

This requires the reorganization of the scientific and organizational foundations of demographic policy as a long term comprehensive target program for the development of the population. Such a program should cover a period of 25 to 30 years. This would enable us to relate more completely the solution of the problems of demographic policy to the material possibilities of society.

The USSR Academy of Sciences Department of Economics Bureau would deem the following urgent steps to correct the existing adverse situation in the field of demographic processes expedient:

1. Broaden the range of competence of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, assigning it responsibility for the practical elaboration and solution of population problems. Obviously, this would require the setting up of a corresponding subdivision within it. The attention of the USSR Council of Ministers Social Development Bureau should be drawn to the need for constant coordination of the activities of ministries, departments and republic and local authorities in the area of population problems.
2. Create within the USSR Academy of Sciences of a Population and Social Problems Institute, in charge of advancing the organization of research on population problems and scientific support of demographic policy, based on the elaboration of a broad range of social problems. Considering the gravity and importance of demographic problems, Soviet science must regain its leading positions in the world.
3. Initiate the publication of a journal on population problems which would rally the efforts of academic and VUZ science, with a view to developing Soviet demography as a separate subject within the social sciences.
4. The USSR Central Statistical Administration should consider the problems of strengthening the statistical base of demographic research, which is quite inadequate presently. In general, the discussion in the press of the demographic situation and steps of demographic policy should be expanded and intensified.

The USSR Academy of Science Department of Economics expresses its great gratitude to the editors of KOMMUNIST for their attention to the urgent problems of the development of our science.

A. Aganbegyan, academician, interim academic secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences Department of Economics.

The USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems considered the article by S. Shatalin, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, "All About Demography," which was published in KOMMUNIST No 12 and reports that at the present time a new draft All-Union Classification of Professions of Workers and Positions of Managers, Specialists, and Employees has been formulated, which calls for opening the position of economist-demographer.

L. Kostin, deputy chairman, USSR State Committee for Labor

The KOMMUNIST editors hope that the crucial problems of demographic policy and science and problems of organization of research in the area of population studies and improvements of the statistical base, raised in the journal, will be of interest to the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, the Gosplan, the State Committee for Labor and the USSR Central Statistical Administration, which will find the possibility of jointly discussing and formulating radical measures to solve them.

At the same time, we would like to draw the attention to such topical problems and, above all, to the idea of the formulation of a long term comprehensive target program for the development of the population, of the recently established USSR Council of Ministers Social Development Bureau, which has been entrusted with ensuring the implementation of the social program formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress, which includes demographic aspects.

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## CHRONICLE: MEETINGS WITH THE EDITORS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 86 (signed to press 28 Oct 86) pp 127-128

[Text] A meeting of leading personnel of party, theoretical and political journals took place in the editorial premises of KOMMUNIST on 10 October 1986. The following were present: L.E. Annus, editor in chief of the journal KOMMUNIST ESTONII; D.A. Ashurov, editor in chief of the journal KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA; V.Ya. Brokan, editor in chief of the journal KOMMUNIST SOVETSKOY LATVII; V.P. Velichko, editor in chief of the journal KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII; A.M. Virshulis, editor in chief of the journal KOMMUNIST (Lithuania); V.D. Danilenko, editor in chief of the journal KOMMUNIST MOLDAVII; K.K. Kazybayev, editor in chief of the journal KOMMUNIST KAZAKHSTANA; V.V. Keshelava, editor in chief of the journal KOMMUNIST GRUZII; N.Ya. Klepach, editor in chief of the journal POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE; V.N. Kuzin, deputy editor in chief of the journal MOLODOY KOMMUNIST; A.F. Levchenko, interim editor in chief of the journal KOMMUNIST KIRGIZSTANA; A.V. Myalovitskiy, editor in chief of the journal KOMMUNIST UKRAINY; Sh.G. Novruzov, responsible secretary of the journal KOMMUNIST AZERBAYDZHANA; R.A. Nurulin, editor in chief of the journal KOMMUNIST UZBEKISTANA; V.I. Piskarev, deputy editor in chief of the journal KOMMUNIST TATARII; A.S. Simonyan, editor in chief of the journal PO LENINSKOMU PUTI (Armenia); A.I. Skrylnik, editor in chief of the journal KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL; V.V. Sukhodeyev, deputy editor in chief of the journal PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN; I.T. Frolov, editor in chief of the journal KOMMUNIST; and Ye.Kh. Khodzhayev, editor in chief of the journal KOMMUNIST TURKMENISTANA.

The participants in the meeting discussed the tasks of the journals in the light of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Journal KOMMUNIST." They shared experience in reorganizing the work in the spirit of the party's requirements.

The participants discussed ways of theoretical interpretation of the problems raised by reality in the course of the implementation of the strategy of acceleration formulated at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee plenum and the 27th Party Congress, and surmounting scholastic doctrinairism in theoretical articles. The need for a bold approach to theory and a daring innovativeness based on party positions was noted.

A great deal of attention was paid to the methodology of organizing journal-sponsored debates on understudied and controversial theoretical problems.

The editors discussed problems of internationalist, patriotic and atheistic education, social justice, communist morality and enhanced role of the human factor in solving the problems formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress.

The discussions covered problems of language and style in journal materials and upgrading their scientific and publicistic standards. Ways were studied of improving work with authors, young authors in particular, and for a more efficient use of letters to the editors.

All participants in the meeting discussed with interest the need to strengthen the printing facilities of journals and ensuring the availability of office equipment and improving the working conditions of the personnel.

Suggestions were considered on upgrading the level of cooperation between central and republic journals; the need was pressed to hold regular (no less than once annually) meetings of heads of party theoretical and political journals for the sake of exchange of experience and to discuss various trends in perfecting their activities.

The participants in the meeting continued their exchange of experience in the various departments of the journal KOMMUNIST on 11 October.

Representatives of the editorial board met with the party aktiv of Moscow's Sovetskiy Rayon and spoke of the journal's work in disseminating the resolutions of the 27th Party Congress and the significance of the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Journal KOMMUNIST," which defined the ways of restructuring the entire system of the social sciences and decisively turning them to face practical needs.

The editors were visited by a delegation of ideological workers of the CZCP, headed by J. Fojtik, CZCP Central Committee presidium member and secretary. The guests were interested in the editorial plans for implementing the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Journal KOMMUNIST," the new work methods of the journal and, in particular, the organization of roundtable meetings, as well as discussions on understudied theoretical problems.

In accordance with the plan for interparty exchanges, the editors were visited by P. Nikicel, member of the editorial staff of ERA SOCIALISTE, the theoretical and sociopolitical journal of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee, who held discussions with the editors of KOMMUNIST and with members of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, the Armenian CP Central Committee and other organizations in Moscow and the Armenian SSR.

The discussions with the editors covered the further development of creative cooperation between the journals.

A talk was held in the premises of KOMMUNIST with a group of FRG journalists, headed by G. Buntz, senior associate of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (Social Democratic Party of Germany). The journalists were told of the activities of

the editors in implementing the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the role played by the journal in party theoretical work.

Problems of creative relations between KOMMUNIST and VANGUARD, the theoretical journal of the Communist Party of Japan Central Committee, were discussed at a meeting between editors and H. Tatiki, member of the standing bureau of the CP of Japan Central Committee Presidium, in the course of his stay in Moscow.

The editors were visited by a delegation of business circles of the Province of Hessen (FRG), headed by U. Steger, minister of economics. The talk was attended by G. Schumacher, responsible editor of the journal NEUE GESELLSCHAFT, theoretical organ of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. The delegation was interested in problems of reorganization of the economic mechanism in the USSR and in the discussion of the topical problems of the radical economic reform taking place in the country in the pages of KOMMUNIST.

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